

History of Latin America

COURSE 2

*A Self-teaching Course, Based on "History of Latin
America for Schools"*

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HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

By this time, every newspaper reader in the United States realizes the importance of Latin America's help to us in winning the war. We know that, after Pearl Harbor, the republics to the south became our chief source of such vital war materials as rubber, tin, copper, and quinine. Moreover, they all have broken relations with the Axis nations, and more than half of them have declared war. Just today came the news of the arrival in Italy of Brazil's expeditionary force, ready to get into the fight.

But, of course, this war co-operation is only a continuation of the peacetime relationship which has been developing for decades, and especially during the decade of the Good Neighbor Policy. All signs indicate that it will continue after the war, probably the more intensely because of the arrangements and habits set up during these war years.

This Course begins with a study of the history and problems of the countries of South America, especially the big three—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. They are particularly important because our relationship with them—especially with Argentina—involves fundamental difficulties which are not found in the rest of Latin America, due in part to geographical factors. To understand them is most vital.

Then the whole story of our political, economic and cultural relations with Latin America is related, and its problems investigated with a critical eye. With this historical perspective, we should avoid the mistakes of both over-optimism and overpessimism about the future harmony of this hemisphere.

Finally, in order to understand the *people*, we must know something about their feelings as expressed in literature, art, and music. A survey of these activities gives us some familiarity with their men who correspond to our Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, and John Steinbeck, our Grant Wood and George Gershwin.

In short, we are trying to get a speaking acquaintance with the family of republics to the south of us. This should prove to be worth doing for, on the highways of the hemisphere, we are apt to meet them increasingly often.

STUDY PROCEDURES:

In an attempt to provide means for you to get the most out of this course in the History of Latin America, the following general program of study is suggested:

1. *Read each chapter carefully:* Begin by looking at the several boldface paragraph headings throughout the chapter. This will give you a general

idea of the contents of the chapter and will help you to understand relationships as you read. Give careful attention to pictures, maps, charts and any other illustrative material as you read. These are included for a definite purpose. When you have finished reading the chapter, try to recall principal facts and their relationship to each other. Reread any parts of the chapter that did not seem clear. For the pronunciation of Spanish, Portuguese, and French names in the text, consult the index.

2. *Complete the self-checking exercises:* When you think you have mastered the contents of the chapter, complete the exercises and assignments that are provided. Follow the instructions given for these exercises and assignments carefully. These exercises and assignments have been designed to bring out significant facts and ideas. A key to answers is provided at the end of the book for each type of exercise except those under the heading "Correspondence or Class Assignments." Check your answers by means of the key. The numbers in the parentheses in the key indicate the pages containing the answers. If you made any errors, check the textbook for the correct answers.

3. *Correspondence or Class Assignments:* After each set of self-checking exercises in your book is a group of "Correspondence or Class Assignments." If you are a regularly enrolled student in the USAFI and want help from an instructor as you work through this course, write out your answers to these assignments as you come to them and send the answers to the United States Armed Forces Institute at Madison 3, Wisconsin, or to a branch of the Institute if there is one nearer than Madison. Be sure to enclose your name and address, the title and number of this manual, and the numbers of the pages on which the assignments appear together with the number of the particular exercise or assignment.

You will receive from the Institute the suggestions of an instructor who has been over your work. He may be able to help you overcome any difficulties you are having with the course. *You are not obliged to send in these assignments.* They are included only for your help and convenience.

If you are working in a class under an instructor, the assignments may be used for outside written work or for class discussion. In any case, read through these assignments. If you are doubtful about the answers to any of them, re-study your text until you are sure you could prepare satisfactory answers.

4. *Course Essay:* When you have completed this course, you should turn in an essay of 1000 to 2000 words at the time you take your End-of-Course Test. You should not wait until you have completed the course before writing this essay. Begin your essay when you have completed the first half of the course. The following topics are suggested: The Vargas Regime in Brazil; The Foreign Policy of Argentina; Progressive Democracy in Uruguay; Liberals vs. Conservatives in Chilean History; The Major Problems of the Andean Countries; The Growth of Hemisphere Solidarity, 1900-1914; United States Trade with Latin America; The Importance of Cultural Exchange with Latin America; Contemporary Latin American Literature; Modern Latin American Art and Music.

5. *Half-Course Review and Self-Check*: When you have completed the reading of the first six chapters in this book, check your progress by means of the Half-Course Review and Self-Check. A key is provided at the end of the book for this Review. The arabic numbers in the parentheses refer to the pages in the chapters. If you make any errors, check the textbook for the correct answers.

6. *End-of-Course Tests*: When you have finished this course you are entitled to take a USAFI End-of-Course Test, and to receive a report of your score on the test. USAFI End-of-Course Tests may be obtained as follows:

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The Full-Course Review provided at the end of this book provides a review of the important ideas that you have studied. If this shows you that you are not sure of some of these ideas, re-study the chapters in which they are explained. If you are fair with yourself in working through this review check-up, you should have no trouble in knowing when to ask for the End-of-Course Test.

8. *Other Course*: This Course is a continuation of *The History of Latin America*, Course I, EM 212. Course One begins with a study of the peoples, geography and history of Latin America, and continues with an investigation of the national development of Mexico, Central America and the West Indies republics.

9. *Group Study*: While this course has been designed to enable you to study by yourself, you will profit by group study when it is practical, either with or without an instructor. Discussion and study with others who are taking this course will help you to broaden your understanding of the History of Latin America.

10. *Appendix*: The Appendix contains two items which can be very helpful. The first is a Chronology of the most important events and dates in the story of Latin America. The second is a set of reading lists for the different chapters in this Course. These are intended to supplement the selected reading list at the end of Chapter I, and to give you a wide range of suggestions for extra reading.

History of Latin America



AP

The late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Getulio Vargas of Brazil on a tour of inspection of Brazilian ports, following President Roosevelt's attendance at the Casablanca Conference in January, 1943.

I. BRAZIL

Brazil is unique among the American republics for many reasons. It is first in size; its area is nearly half of South America. It borders on seven other South American republics. It is three times as large as Argentina, and as large as the United States plus another Texas. Brazil's second outstanding difference is that it represents Portuguese and not Spanish civilization. It was settled by the Portuguese and that language is the language of the country. In the third place, Brazil began its independence as a monarchy and continued that form of government for a half century. It has other distinguishing qualities. It is the only country in America that has ever been the seat of a European monarch. One ruler, Dom Pedro II, guided its destiny for fifty years. Brazil freed its slaves in 1888 without war. The republic was established in 1889 with practically no bloodshed. The ideal of the nation is complete racial equality. Brazil has named one of its public buildings the Monroe Palace to demonstrate its sympathy with the United States and the fundamental policy of protecting the continent from outside interference as expressed in the Monroe Doctrine. Brazil has every kind of climate and produces practically every mineral and vegetable known to man.

It was eight years after Columbus first sighted the New World that Pedro Álvarez Cabral sailed westward from Portugal and discovered Brazil. In 1532 the first permanent Portuguese colony was established in Brazil. Brazil received its name from the soluble wood used in making red and purple dyes, called brazilwood, found in that country. We remember that the independence of the Spanish colonies began when Napoleon invaded Spain and removed the Spanish king from the throne. In the same way Napoleon's invasion was responsible for the beginning of independence in Brazil. That invasion caused the court of Portugal to move to Rio de Janeiro in 1808.

The removal of the court of Portugal to Rio de Janeiro made Brazil the center of the Portuguese empire. As a result, all colonial restrictions were abolished. The ports were opened to the trade of all friendly nations, a national bank and a royal mint were established, roads were built, schools and libraries were fostered, and foreigners were welcomed into the country. It is important to remember this event, since it automatically removed many of the limitations with which the Spanish colonies had to deal in the process of becoming independent. It is always an advantage



Photo from Ewing Gallery

This view of Rio de Janeiro, as seen from the top of Corcovado Peak, was taken by night. The famous "Sugar-Loaf" island, seventeen hundred feet high, rises commandingly in the harbor. Botafogo Bay is in the foreground.

to have the same authority that established restrictions remove them. By 1810 Brazil had become the center of an important political and industrial life. Commerce was free and had developed to a conspicuous extent with Europe. Banks and industries were growing.

THE FIRST EMPIRE (1822-1831)

"Independence or Death." When King João realized that he could return to Portugal, after the French occupation was over, he and his court set sail for Lisbon in 1821. He left his young son Pedro in Rio de Janeiro as regent. A little fatherly advice whispered to the son conveyed the idea that Brazil might want its independence. If such a movement seemed likely, the son had better head it himself rather than allow anyone else to become chief. The independence movement was not long in breaking forth. Following the advice of his father, young Pedro himself gave the cry "Independence or Death," known as the *Grito de Ipiranga*, on the outskirts of São Paulo on September 7, 1822. He proclaimed Brazil an independent state and named himself emperor. He surrounded himself with a group of well-trained men, the most distinguished of whom was José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, usually known as José Bonifácio. This man had great influence in the early development of Brazil. He was a member of an aristocratic family, had been educated in Europe, and had clear and exalted ideas of government. Unfortunately jealousies developed between the young emperor and Parliament. This was heightened by the emperor's seeming preference for

Portugal over Brazil, his strong will, and irregularities in his private life. The issue was clearly drawn when Dom Pedro fell out with the premier, José Bonifácio, and the members of Parliament, which had declared itself in permanent session. A revolution broke out in 1824 in the northern provinces which attempted to establish a republic separate from the empire. This movement was soon suppressed. More serious was the revolt of the Spanish inhabitants in the section known as the *Banda Oriental* (later called Uruguay), which Brazil had claimed as its territory. With the aid of Argentina this revolution was successful. The Brazilian troops were decisively beaten, and the Brazilian fleet was destroyed. Uruguay's independence was established on August 27, 1828.

In 1826, King João, the father of Dom Pedro, died and left the young Brazilian ruler heir to the throne of Portugal. It was evident that Dom Pedro could not rule both countries. His popularity in Brazil was rapidly waning. Consequently he decided to abdicate the Brazilian throne. This he did on April 6, 1831 and sailed away one week later to claim for himself the Portuguese crown.

THE SECOND EMPIRE (1831-1889)

The successor to the Brazilian throne was the five-year-old Dom Pedro de Alcântara. This young boy was acclaimed as the second emperor of Brazil under the name of Dom Pedro II. The distinguished intellectual, José Bonifácio, was made his tutor. A council of three was selected to act as regents of the throne. Under the regency many changes took place

in Brazil. Political parties began to develop. A liberal newspaper was founded. The country started on the way toward the development of self-government. A bank of deposit and issue was established. The war against the Indians was terminated. Education was emphasized. The model secondary school, *Colegio Pedro II*, which continues today, was established in 1837. The Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute was organized.

The Long Rule of Dom Pedro II. When Dom Pedro was not quite fifteen, he was declared of legal age. The regency was discontinued, and the young man started his long rule, which lasted until the establishment of the republic in 1889. Dom Pedro is recognized as one of the world's greatest benevolent rulers. He was more in love with the sciences and the arts than with politics. If his subjects complained of anything, it was that he paid too much attention to intellectual pursuits and too little to the details of government. He frequently took long trips into the interior, accompanied by foreign intellectuals whom he invited to aid in Brazil's development. His viewpoint was broadened by trips to Europe. In 1876 he made his famous visit to the United States on the occasion of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. Dom Pedro exercised his power with moderation and would not tolerate dishonesty in the government. Under his rule the Brazilian parliament worked effectively, with a balance between the liberal and conservative parties.

Dom Pedro engaged in two foreign wars with his Southern neighbors.

Argentina's dictator, Rosas, was continually making efforts to control Uruguay, which had become the buffer state between the two largest South American nations. In 1851 the Brazilian government decided that it was necessary to overthrow Rosas, believing that otherwise the dictator would annex Uruguay to Argentina. An alliance between Brazil, the liberals of Uruguay, and General Urquiza (the governor of the Argentine provinces of Entre Ríos and Corrientes and leader of the opposition to Rosas) was arranged. At the battle of Monte Caseros, on February 3, 1852, Rosas was defeated. This marked the last armed encounter between Argentina and Brazil over the control of Uruguay.

It was the rise of another dictator with imperialistic designs, Francisco Solano López of Paraguay, that brought Brazil into Dom Pedro's second war. López of Paraguay patterned his imperialistic ideas after those of Napoleon III. After his inauguration as the chief executive of Paraguay, he attempted to extend his rule over all of central South America. His first move was the invasion, in 1864, of the adjoining Brazilian territory. This brought Brazil into the war. Argentina soon joined Brazil in the conflict. However, jealousy developed between Brazil and Argentina as to which nation would furnish the commander in chief. Through lack of co-operation the war lasted for five long years. Brazil lost thousands of soldiers, many of them through disease and disorganization. The war brought great criticism upon Dom Pedro and probably hastened the movement for the establishment of a republic.



After his visit to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, Dom Pedro II of Brazil and the empress departed for Europe on the Cunard steamer *Russia*.

Bettman Archive

Another question which aided this movement was that of slavery. For a long time the process of the gradual abolition of slavery continued. On November 14, 1850, the Brazilian parliament had adopted a law abolishing slave traffic. Five years later the traffic in slaves had almost ceased. Many projects were introduced into parliament providing for complete abolition. The emperor favored the measure, but he believed that it should be accomplished slowly and that the owners should be compensated for their property. In 1871 a law was passed freeing the children of slaves who were born after that date. Dom Pedro declared that he had rather lose his crown than allow slavery to be permanent in Brazil. While the emperor was on one of his trips to Europe, his daughter, Princess Isabel, acting as regent, took the bold step of completely abolishing slavery. On May 13, 1888, the law was passed which freed the approximately 740,000 Negroes who remained slaves at that time. No compensation was given to the owners.

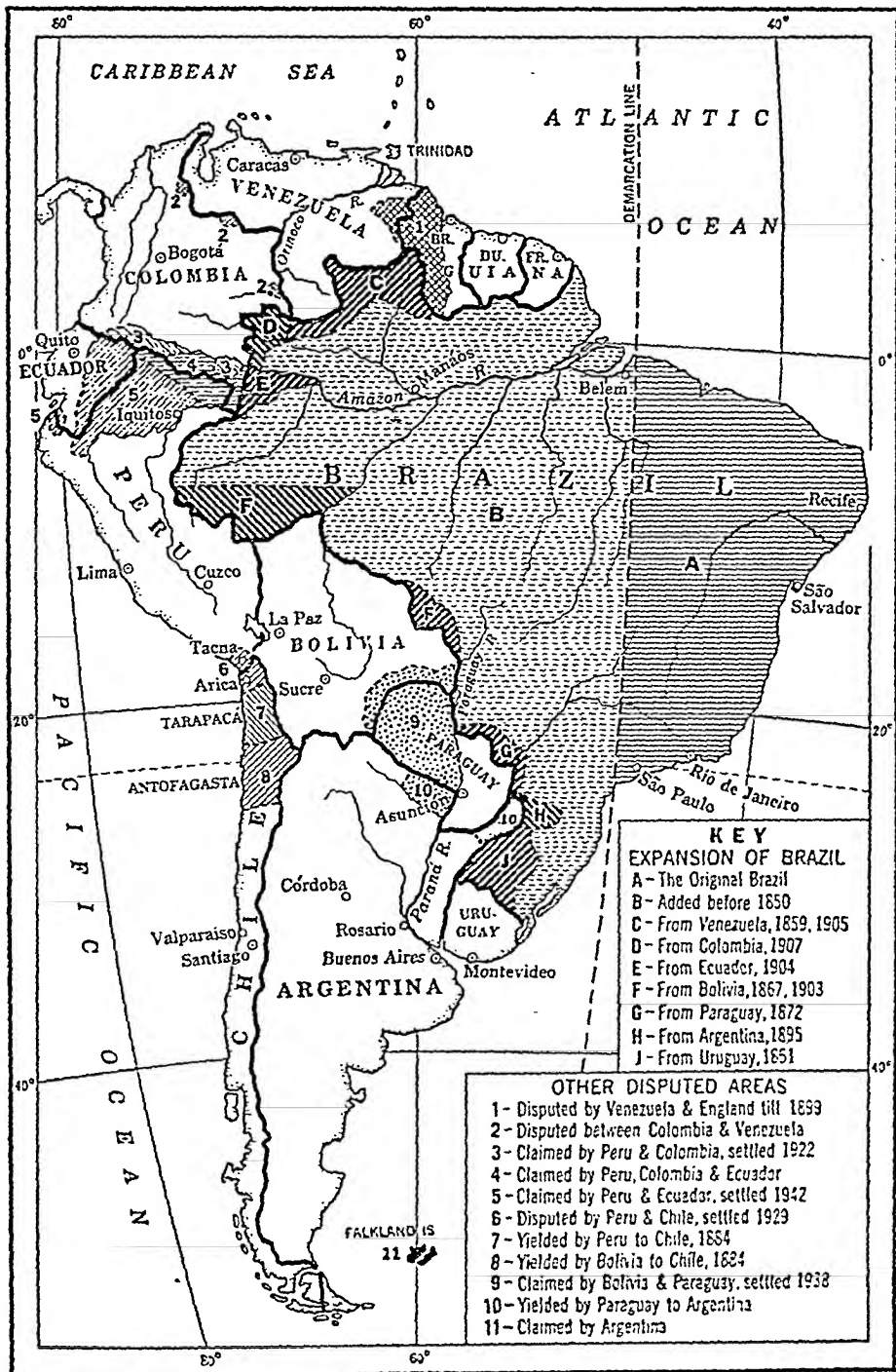
Strangely enough, the emperor and his family by their own liberal rule had prepared for the establishing of the republic. Army officers, taking advantage of the growing liberal ideas, became insubordinate and used the press to criticize the government. The conservative landowners, who had lost heavily with the freeing of the slaves, sided with the enemies of the emperor. The crisis came in November, 1889. When rumors were circulated that some of the less reliable regiments would be transferred from the capital to faraway posts, the army seized control of the government and arrested

the members of the ministry. General Deodoro da Fonseca led the movement to banish Dom Pedro and his family. The scene was one of the most touching in history. The old emperor Dom Pedro, with the empress, his daughter Isabel, and other members of the royal family, received quietly in their palace the delegation which came to inform them that the ship upon which they must leave was awaiting them in the harbor. Without any attempt to call his friends to protect him, the aged emperor and his family went silently, with their heads high, to the waiting ship. On November 17, 1889, Dom Pedro sailed out of the beautiful harbor of Rio de Janeiro, never to return.

THE "OLD REPUBLIC" (1889-1930)

The republic which began in 1889 is known as the "Old Republic" to distinguish it from the new regime begun by Getulio Vargas in 1930. The republic was destined to meet many difficulties. A new constitution modeled on that of the United States was adopted by the congress in 1891.

First Presidents. The first elected president was Deodoro da Fonseca, who had previously seized control of the government, and the vice-president was Marshal Floriano Peixoto. When the president quarreled with the congress and assumed dictatorial powers, the navy revolted. Fonseca resigned, and Vice-President Peixoto took over the presidential authority. The naval revolt looked exceedingly dangerous but was finally suppressed. A long period of unrest and civil war ensued before order was restored throughout the country. Military dictatorships were the order of the day.



The Period from 1894-1930. The first civilian to be chief executive was Prudente José de Moraes Barros, a liberal leader from São Paulo. He granted amnesty to political prisoners. He was able, after four years of fighting, to put down the rebellion of a strange religious fanatic known as Antonio Conselheiro, in the interior of the state of Bahia.

Following Barros, Manoel Ferraz de Campos Salles became president. His actions started the country on the upward grade. He improved the financial situation by floating loans in Europe. He settled threatening disputes with Bolivia and France.

About this time Brazil, under the leadership of her distinguished diplomat, Baron do Rio Branco, began to negotiate agreements which settled boundary disputes with Bolivia and the Guianas. Rio Branco was one of the most distinguished of Brazilian diplomats. He contributed much, not only to Brazil's peaceful efforts, but to the development of the whole Pan-American movement. In 1910 Marshal Hermes da Fonseca became president. He reorganized the army and the navy, improved financial conditions, and initiated governmental control of the coffee and rubber industries. Brazil entered the World War in 1917, having declared officially that she was following the United States in her foreign policy.

In 1922 Brazil celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of her independence by opening an international exhibition in Rio de Janeiro. The United States sent one of its most-distinguished citizens, Charles Evans Hughes, as its representative at these festivities. An act of the Brazilian

congress provided for the return of the remains of Dom Pedro II and his empress to Brazil, where they are interred in the cathedral at Petropolis.

At this time Brazil was less progressive than several of the other Latin-American countries in her national organization. Her federal government took little interest in promoting a balanced economic program, general education, or the improvement of conditions in the states distant from the capital. The foreign debt was rapidly mounting. Of the two great money-making crops, rubber had already surrendered to the much larger volume produced by the great plantations in Java and Malaya, and coffee was meeting stiff competition from the supplies of Colombia and Central America. A mediocre group of politicians succeeded each other in office. A revolution which broke out in 1924 was quickly suppressed by the government forces.

THE "NEW REPUBLIC"

This period was inaugurated by Getulio Vargas, who later called his government *O Estado Novo* ("the New State"). The world depression began to be felt in Brazil about the time of the elections in 1930. Brazil had always been a heavy borrower of foreign capital. One billion of her two-and-a-half billion of foreign capital was imported in the years following the first World War. The crash in Wall Street in 1929 stopped this inflow of loans. It was a good time for those Brazilian states that had been excluded from sharing in the political spoils to assert their rights.

The revolution that was begun in 1930 started, as in Mexico, for the

purpose of political reform. It was aimed against the domination in political affairs of the state of São Paulo, the center of the coffee industry. The term of President Washington Luis, who represented São Paulo, closed on November, 1930. He favored as his successor Julio Prestes, another representative of São Paulo. He was opposed by Dr. Getulio Vargas, governor of the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. The liberals, who actually polled more than 700,000 out of the nearly 2,000,000 votes cast, believed that this vote would have been larger had the polling been fair. Vargas then started a revolution. After several weeks of fighting, he placed himself at the head of the government in Rio de Janeiro. He had not been long in power when a growing dissatisfaction began to be manifest in various states, due largely to his failure to return to constitutional government. It culminated in 1932 in the São Paulo revolt. Not since the War between the States in the United States had there been such a sanguinary conflict in the Western Hemisphere.

The Rule of Getulio Vargas. After nearly three months of fighting the government forces succeeded finally in quelling the revolt; but the opposition to Vargas continued in the south, particularly in São Paulo. Soon after taking office, Vargas dissolved the congress and frankly designated himself as dictator. In his decree ordering the dissolution of congress and the organization of the provisional government, he provided for a new constitution. The constitution up to that time had been the one adopted by the first Brazilian republic in 1891,

modeled on the Constitution of the United States.

A Constitutional Assembly was appointed for the purpose of writing a new charter. The debates which followed revealed the great change of thought which had recently come over this conservative country. Brazil, with her inheritances from the empire, has been slower than some of her sister states to welcome the more radical social attitudes. The long discussions of the convention revealed the mind of the nation in both its wise and unwise aspects. As finally adopted in 1934, the constitution bore little trace of the more radical proposals discussed by the assembly.

The strong note of nationalism (formerly less prominent in Brazil than in any other large country) that pervaded the assembly indicated that a marked change was coming over the land. Not only nationalism but a minor tinge of socialism had a place in the new document. Universal suffrage was granted. The extension of the vote to women was a striking innovation as well as an eloquent demonstration of the powerful position women had come to assume in a land where formerly they had been very backward in political life. The drastic limitation of immigration, which was imposed by a minority group after a newspaper campaign against the Japanese, was soon recognized as a mistake, and congress considered a revision of the provision that the annual immigration from any country may not exceed 2 per cent of the total number entering Brazil during the past fifty years. The provision which required that foreign enterprises and industries be directed and managed by Brazil-

ians was in accord with general Latin-American trends to compel foreign capital to contribute to national development. From the point of view of internal development, the end of the domination of the central states and the "nationalization" of the federal government were the most significant changes.

Two days after promulgating the new constitution, the assembly, on July 17, 1934, acting under its rights, elected as the first president under the new constitution Dr. Getulio Vargas, the provisional president since the revolution in 1930. Thus Brazil, with a more modern charter, looking, at least in a small way, toward the reduction of the tremendous inequalities between the rich and the poor, returned to the rank of nations that were under a constitutional government.

However, the period of constitutional government was not long to endure. Once having opened the way to modern influences, Brazil found herself torn by conflicting ideologies. Communism appealed to a certain group of young army and navy officers and to students. Much stronger was the Fascist faction, which organized in Brazil under the name of Integralists. The Integralists advocated a national culture and a political organization similar to the Italian corporations. They wore green shirts, organized bands of armed troops, held many parades and conventions, and announced salvation through nationalism. They fitted well into the fifth-column activities of the German colonists. The Germans themselves numbered about one million. Most of them lived in the three southern

states of Brazil. But their organizational skill resided in the large staff of trained officials in the German Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, in the consulate at São Paulo, and in other key cities. Besides these foreign influences there were the ordinary parties usually organized along conservative and liberal lines.

Three prominent Brazilians announced their candidacy in the presidential elections in 1937. After they had campaigned for several weeks, President Vargas canceled the elections. Conditions, he said, were too chaotic, foreign influences were too threatening, to allow a national election. A few weeks after this announcement, Brazil was presented with a new constitution (November 10, 1937). *O Estado Novo* was defined in a long, involved document filled with terms made familiar by the "New Order" in Italy and Germany. The democratic world was greatly disturbed. It looked as though the first Fascist state had been organized in America. Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, Brazilian ambassador in Washington, rushed back to Rio de Janeiro where he, with the United States ambassador and other liberal forces, put pressure on Vargas to declare in favor of loyalty to the Pan-American movement and democratic processes. The president accepted the advice. He stated openly that this new state was an effort to give Brazil a government which would meet in a new, vigorous, efficient way the economic and social problems of the nation. But this was to be, Vargas declared, within the American system and by no means in imitation of Europe.

The president assumed dictatorial

powers once more. Members of congress were sent home. Political opponents were severely dealt with. But the social program, of which Vargas was very proud, continued. The German fifth-column movement continued to interfere with internal order. The German Embassy and the Integralist party were accused of initiating a revolutionary plot which almost made away with the president. One night when Vargas and his daughter were working late in the presidential palace, a group of armed men attacked the residence. With the help of his plucky daughter, Alzira, he shot it out with the intruders. Help arrived promptly enough to suppress the planned revolution. President Vargas boldly accused the Germans of fomenting the plot and asked for the recall of the German ambassador.

About this time, March, 1939, Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, minister of Foreign Affairs, was invited to Washington. There an agreement was signed whereby Brazil promised to sell important war material only to the United States. This country agreed to a loan of \$20,000,000 to build a steel mill near Rio de Janeiro and to build a railroad from the coast to the large iron and manganese mines. Brazil agreed that her territory might be used as bases in ferrying our bombers across from Natal to Africa and on to the Allied forces in the Mediterranean.

Brazil Lines Up with the United States. Following the fateful December 7, 1941, when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Brazil showed sympathy with the United States. She acted as host to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs who met in Rio de Janeiro on January 15, 1942, to plan continental ac-

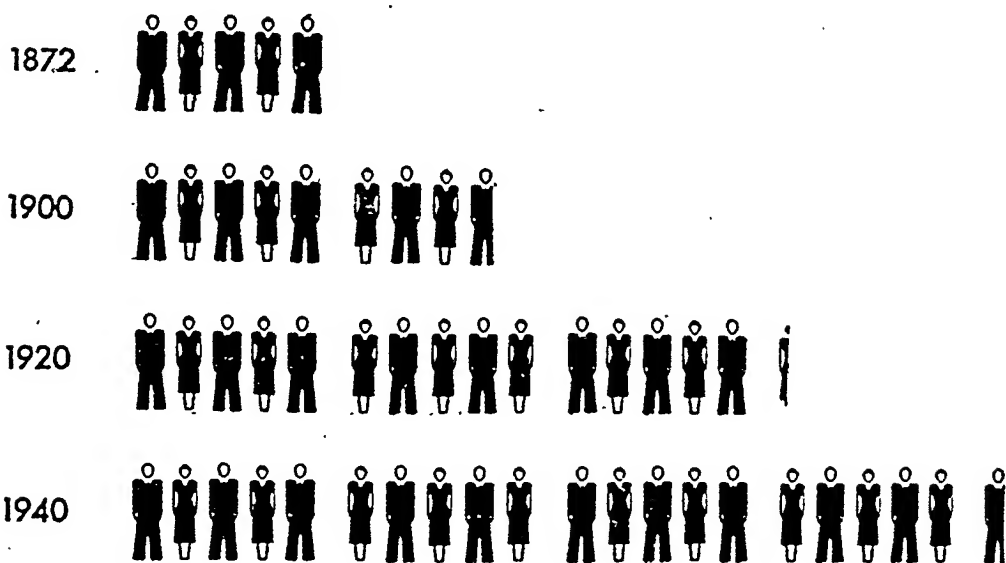
tion against the Axis. Misguided critics in the United States, who had prophesied that Vargas, being a dictator, would place himself on Germany's side, were rebuked when Brazil announced, during the conference, that she had broken relations with the Axis. This especially angered Hitler, since he had greatly counted on the effective influence of the million German-speaking people in Brazil. German submarines immediately began to make a special effort to sink Brazilian ships. Following the loss of several hundred lives in the sinking of five Brazilian ships, President Roosevelt, on August 20, 1942, sent the following message to President Vargas:

In this moment of grave menace to the respect, integrity, and the destiny of Brazil, I reiterate once again the abiding friendship of the people of the United States for the people of Brazil, their profound gratitude for the co-operation in the defense of the hemisphere which already has resulted in many sacrifices to Brazil. . . . I want you to know that my thoughts and sympathy are with you in this critical hour.

Two days later Brazil announced a state of war with the Axis powers. She prepared more than ever to place her enormous economic resources at the disposal of the United Nations.

Social Aspects of the "New State." In 1940 Brazil celebrated the tenth anniversary of the inauguration of the New State. Whether or not the country had advanced in the matter of self-government was questionable. There was no question, however, about the improved economic and social conditions. No longer do the rich states of São Paulo and Minas Geraes rule the nation. Scientifically

POPULATION GROWTH IN BRAZIL.



Each symbol represents 2 million people

Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs

conducted departments of government develop plans for long-neglected areas, swamp and drought regions, rubber lands and grassy plains. New cities are springing up in the far-distant interior.

The State of Goiaz, larger than Texas, had grown so rapidly that it was dissatisfied with its out-of-date capital. Engineers and public-health experts were told to locate, plan, and build a model capital city. Made to order were the streets, the parks, the public buildings, the schools, the factories, and the playgrounds. They never expect to have a slum, an epidemic, or a traffic jam in this model city, Goiânia. "Go west, young man," is the advice followed in Brazil today with as much enthusiasm as in the United States seventy-five years ago. New railways, highways, and airways are aiding in this conquest of the frontiers.

Social Legislation. No advance in Brazil has been greater than that of better labor conditions. In his presidential platform of 1930 Getulio Vargas declared: "The existence of the social question in Brazil cannot be denied as one of the problems that will have to be faced with all seriousness by the public authorities." And he added: "A co-ordination of efforts is urgent—for the study and adoption of unified measures which will form our Code for Labor." "There devolves upon us, also, the duty of aiding the laboring classes by measures which will assure them relative comfort and stability, and protect them in illness and old age."

Although Brazil had joined the International Bureau of Labor of Geneva in 1920, ten years had gone by without the working masses of the country having benefited from this act of the government. A few weeks

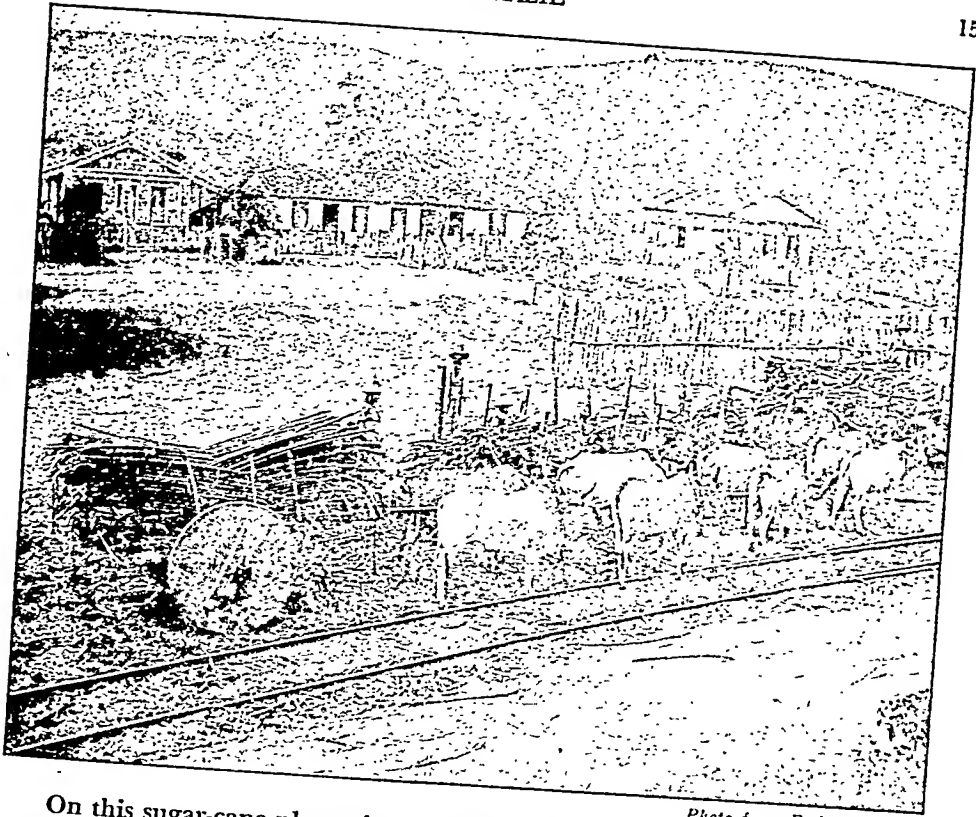


Photo from Ewing Galloway

On this sugar-cane plantation in Bahia, Brazil, oxen are used to haul the product in from the fields and take it to market. There are few railroads in the State of Bahia.

after becoming president, in November, 1930, Vargas created the Ministry of Labor. From March, 1931, to April, 1941, more than 161 new laws were decreed concerning social security and the regulating of labor in almost all of its aspects. It is interesting to note that this legislation was a normal evolution, since it was not preceded by strikes or disturbances of any other kind.

Work Is a Social Duty. The Constitution of 1934 reflected this transformation wrought in the country whose administrators undertook to solve the conflicts between capital and labor by enacting laws which created reciprocal

rights and duties. The Constitution of 1937 went further in this direction. It set forth in Article 136 that labor is a social duty, having a right to the special protection of the government. At the very start it established the principle that all Brazilians are guaranteed the right to live by means of honest labor. This is an individual right, a social good, which it is the duty of the state to protect.

The right of labor to collective bargaining was recognized. Laws were passed providing for minimum wages, paid vacations, an eight-hour day, free medical aid, and insurance covering health, old age, and accidents. Child

labor under the age of 14 was prohibited. The strike and the lockout were declared to be anti-social methods, harmful both to labor and capital and incompatible with the highest interests of national production. Conflicts arising from relations between employers and employees were to be settled by judicial procedure.

Economic Development. Brazil with a total area of 3,286,170 square miles occupies nearly half the continent of South America. This vast area, greater than that of the forty-eight states of the United States of America, is inhabited by less than 45,000,000 people. Thus Brazil offers opportunities for settlement, and her vast resources, agricultural and mineral, predict a future large in possibilities. At present agriculture is the most important source of wealth. The major commercial products are coffee, sugar, cotton, cacao, hides and skins, meats, fruits, oilseeds, tobacco, mate, and rubber.

Cultural Advance. The enlarged circulation of reading matter among the people of Brazil is very noticeable. Great publishing houses in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo produce enormous amounts of cheap books. Most of these are serious books on national problems. A number of fine sociological novels have recently been published. Translations of books from the United States are gaining on French literature which has long been dominant. The public libraries are beginning to adopt United States' methods of popularizing circulation. The National Book Institute of Rio de Janeiro is encouraging the organization of libraries in small towns by offering to donate an initial forty

volumes to be followed by an additional fifty volumes each month.

The government has recently published a book entitled *Brazil Is Good*. It is for wide distribution among children. An extract reads:

Brazil is good because it makes no distinction between races and holds no prejudices on account of race and color. Merit alone gives the privilege of social ascent. Brazil is good because it is a democracy, a government by the people. The republican and representative form of government is part of our constitutional foundation. . . . Our constitution is not materialistic because it does not place the economic system above all else, the principle adopted in fascistic and communistic systems . . . the new regime instituted in Brazil is, above all, the one in which the fundamental principle of the value of the human factor is affirmed.

International Relations. Brazil has been noted for its well-trained diplomats and leadership in international conferences. As the largest country in South America, her frontiers bordering on seven other republics, she has been a strong advocate of settling disputes by arbitration. Relations between Brazil and the United States have been notably cordial—although this does not mean that the two countries have not had their quarrels. Brazil appointed her first minister to the United States in 1810, at which time Washington sent John Graham as minister to Rio de Janeiro. Following President Monroe's doctrine of "America for the Americans," Dom Pedro I, just two years after Brazil had gained her independence, approved the doctrine. He sent his minister to Washington to suggest an alliance with the United States in order to defend the continent. In

1906 a great public building in Rio de Janeiro was dedicated by Secretary of State Elihu Root as the Monroe Palace. At Pan-American conferences Brazil has always defended the Monroe Doctrine. Brazil followed the United States into both World Wars in order to defend the American continent. Commercial relations, with Brazil exchanging her coffee and rubber for the manufactured goods of the United States, are one explanation of these close relations. But the moral sympathy felt between the two countries is emphasized by the fact that whether Brazil was a monarchy, a loosely organized republic, or was dominated by the strong hand of a Getulio Vargas, that friendship has remained the same.

The great rival of Brazil is Argentina. This rivalry began in colonial days, when the Portuguese and Spanish were struggling for dominance in eastern South America. Following independence this rivalry continued, especially in efforts to control the buffer region, now the Republic of Uruguay. During the first quarter of a century of the independent life of Brazil and Argentina, intermittent wars over the dominance of the neighboring Uruguay were in progress. The same complicated question concerning dominance in eastern South America was at the bottom of the Paraguayan War (1865-1870), although the two strong nations were allies during that struggle. At the conclusion of that war the territorial disputes were settled by arbitration. Brazil made a fine gesture of good

will to Paraguay in 1943, when she told the visiting president from Asunción that Paraguay's war debts held in Rio de Janeiro since 1870 were cancelled.

Although Brazil is larger than either the United States or Argentina, she has escaped many of the jealousies and fears which other American nations have felt toward those two countries. In inter-American conferences the statesmen from Rio de Janeiro have often acted as adjusters of differences between the other republics.

Brazil, as a belligerent in the first World War, was a charter member of the League of Nations. She furnished leadership for much of the League's work. When the United States left vacant the permanent position on the League's Council, Brazil felt that the place should be given to her. When this was refused during the reorganization of the League in 1926, Brazil resigned.

As one of the most American of the countries of the New World, Brazil has at the same time maintained cordial relations with Europe. Great Britain occupied a pre-eminent place in Brazilian economic life until the first World War, and France was her inspiration in the cultural world. Germany made a great bid for dominance in both fields, especially during the 1930's. But with the outbreak of the second World War it was more than ever clear that Brazil desired to co-operate with the United States and the other American republics for continental and world solidarity.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. The Leading Figures in Brazil's History. This list of names can be matched with the following statements, which are arranged in the proper time-order. In the parentheses before each statement write the letter of the leader to whom it refers.

- a. Deodoro da Fonseca
- b. Pedro II
- c. Elihu Root
- d. Getulio Vargas
- e. Pedro I
- f. Francisco Solano López

- g. Rio Branco
- h. Jose Bonifacio
- i. Cabral
- j. General Rosas
- k. Oswaldo Aranha

- () 1. Discovered Brazil in 1500
- () 2. The Portuguese prince who declared Brazil's independence from his own father's rule
- () 3. The democratic emperor who ruled Brazil for 58 years
- () 4. The liberal statesman who tutored the boy emperor
- () 5. The Argentine dictator who was overthrown in a war with Brazil
- () 6. The leader of the movement for a republic, and its first president
- () 7. The diplomat who settled quarrels with Bolivia and the Guianas
- () 8. The United States Secretary of State who dedicated the Monroe Palace
- () 9. The founder of the "New State," and president of Brazil in the early 1940's
- () 10. Former Brazilian Ambassador to the United States who became Foreign Minister in the earlier 1940's

B. The Development of Brazil. Each of the following statements is followed by a set of completing phrases. Some of the phrases are correct completions, others are not. Underline those which are correct.

- 1. Brazil is unique among the American republics for these reasons:
 - a. It has by far the largest area.
 - b. Its basic culture is Portuguese, not Spanish.
 - c. It began its independence as a monarchy.
 - d. It now has a republican government.
- 2. In developing from a colony to an independent republic, Brazil took the following steps:
 - a. When Napoleon conquered Portugal, the king took his court to Brazil.
 - b. After Napoleon's defeat, the king returned to Portugal, leaving his son to rule Brazil.
 - c. This son, Pedro I, declared the independence of Brazil at about the same time as the rest of South America became independent.
 - d. The emperor of Brazil, because of his democratic ideals, purposely changed Brazil into a republic.

3. The long reign of Pedro II was notable for these developments:
 - a. Two victorious wars, against the Argentine dictator, Rosas, and the Paraguayan dictator, López.
 - b. Political parties and a liberal newspaper were started.
 - c. He was opposed to scientific advance, for religious reasons.
 - d. The emperor established schools, such as Colegio Pedro II.
 - e. He visited the United States in 1876 to see the Centennial Exposition.
4. The abolition of slavery involved these steps:
 - a. The importation of slaves was abolished before the time of our War Between the States.
 - b. All slave children were freed beginning in 1871.
 - c. The law for complete abolition was passed in 1888.
 - d. The owners were compensated for freeing their slaves.
 - e. The next year, the opponents of abolition helped to oust the emperor and establish a republic.
5. The "Old Republic" included these developments:
 - a. Forty years of peaceful democratic government.
 - b. The expansion of Brazil by means of winning boundary disputes with her neighbors.
 - c. The adoption of a constitution like that of the United States.
 - d. Friendship with the United States, as evidenced by the dedication of the Monroe Palace.
 - e. Entrance into World War I in support of the United States.

C. The Regime of Getulio Vargas. Dr. Vargas has been praised and criticized ever since he became president of Brazil in 1930. Here are two sets of statements about his regime, one list which might be given by his friends, the other by his opponents. Some of the statements are true, others are false; some are opinions discussed in the chapter, others are opinions not discussed. For the true statements, encircle the letter T; for the false statements, the letter F. For the opinions discussed, encircle OD; for those not discussed, encircle ON.

Statements by Vargas's friends:

- | | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|---|
| T | F | OD | ON | 1. Vargas was defeated in the 1930 election only by unfair voting. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 2. The State of São Paulo had dominated the federal government too long. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 3. Vargas called a constitutional assembly for the purpose of forming a new and better government. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 4. The new constitution contained such provisions as votes for women, and the ownership and management of businesses by Brazilians. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 5. Vargas was constitutionally elected president by the assembly in 1934. |

- T F OD ON 6. When Vargas and his daughter, Elzira, were attacked by the Green-shirts in 1939, he blamed the German diplomats for it.
- T F OD ON 7. This proves that Vargas was not a fascist.
- T F OD ON 8. In 1939, Brazil made an agreement with the United States to sell us war materials and to allow our planes to use her air bases en route to Africa.
- T F OD ON 9. The United States agreed to loan Brazil \$20,000,000 to build a steel industry.
- T F OD ON 10. After Pearl Harbor, Brazil proved her sympathy for the United States by being host for the Rio Conference and by breaking relations with the Axis.
- T F OD ON 11. Brazil declared war against the Axis on August 22, 1942, after Axis submarines had sunk five of her ships.
- T F OD ON 12. In the Constitution of 1937, labor's right to bargain collectively was established.

Statements by Vargas's opponents:

- T F OD ON 13. Vargas became president by unconstitutional means.
- T F OD ON 14. He stayed in power by crushing the São Paulo revolt of 1932.
- T F OD ON 15. The Constitution of 1934 took power away from the federal government and gave it to the states.
- T F OD ON 16. Vargas established the Green-shirt fascists, the Integralistas.
- T F OD ON 17. Vargas should not have cancelled the 1937 elections.
- T F OD ON 18. The "New State" announced by Vargas in 1937 alarmed the democratic forces in Brazil.
- T F OD ON 19. Then Vargas dismissed Congress and ruled as a dictator.
- T F OD ON 20. The United States-Brazil agreement of 1939 means that Vargas is only strengthening his dictatorship over Brazil.

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments. (See general instructions under this heading, p. viii.)

1. Write a comparison of the methods by which Brazil and the United States freed their slaves.

2. Explain why it has been said that Dom Pedro II was "the ruler of the only democracy in Latin America."

3. Describe the policies of President Vargas in regard to such matters as (a) democratic political practices in Brazil, (b) relations with the United States, (c) relations with the Axis, and (d) social legislation.

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading. If you have a shelf of books or magazines within reach, try to find something on Latin America. A full list of suggested readings is given in the Appendix of this book, but here are a few that would be especially helpful, if you are lucky enough to find them.

Or, if you wish to buy one or two good books, this list includes the publishers and prices. The chapters listed here are for reading in relation to this chapter. Each of the following chapters will include an appropriate list of suggestions.

Carr, Katherine, *South American Primer*. Reynal and Hitchcock, \$1.75. Ch. 5.

Goetz and Fry, *The Good Neighbors*. Foreign Policy Association, New York City. 25 cents.

Gunther, John, *Inside Latin America*. Harper & Brothers, \$3.50. Ch. 23-26.

Herring, Hubert, *Good Neighbors*. Yale University Press. \$3.50. Part II (pp. 107-166).

Inman, Samuel Guy, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*. Harcourt, Brace, \$3.75.

Raushenbush, Joan, *Look at Latin America*. Foreign Policy Association, New York City. 25 cents.

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Harper & Brothers, \$1.94. Ch. 14 (Dom Pedro II) and Ch. 22 (Mello Franco).

Torres-Ríoseco, Arturo, *The Epic of Latin-American Literature*. Oxford University Press, \$3.00.

Williams, M. W., *People and Politics of Latin America*, Ginn & Co., \$4.60. (Also, EM224.) Ch. 30.

II. ARGENTINA

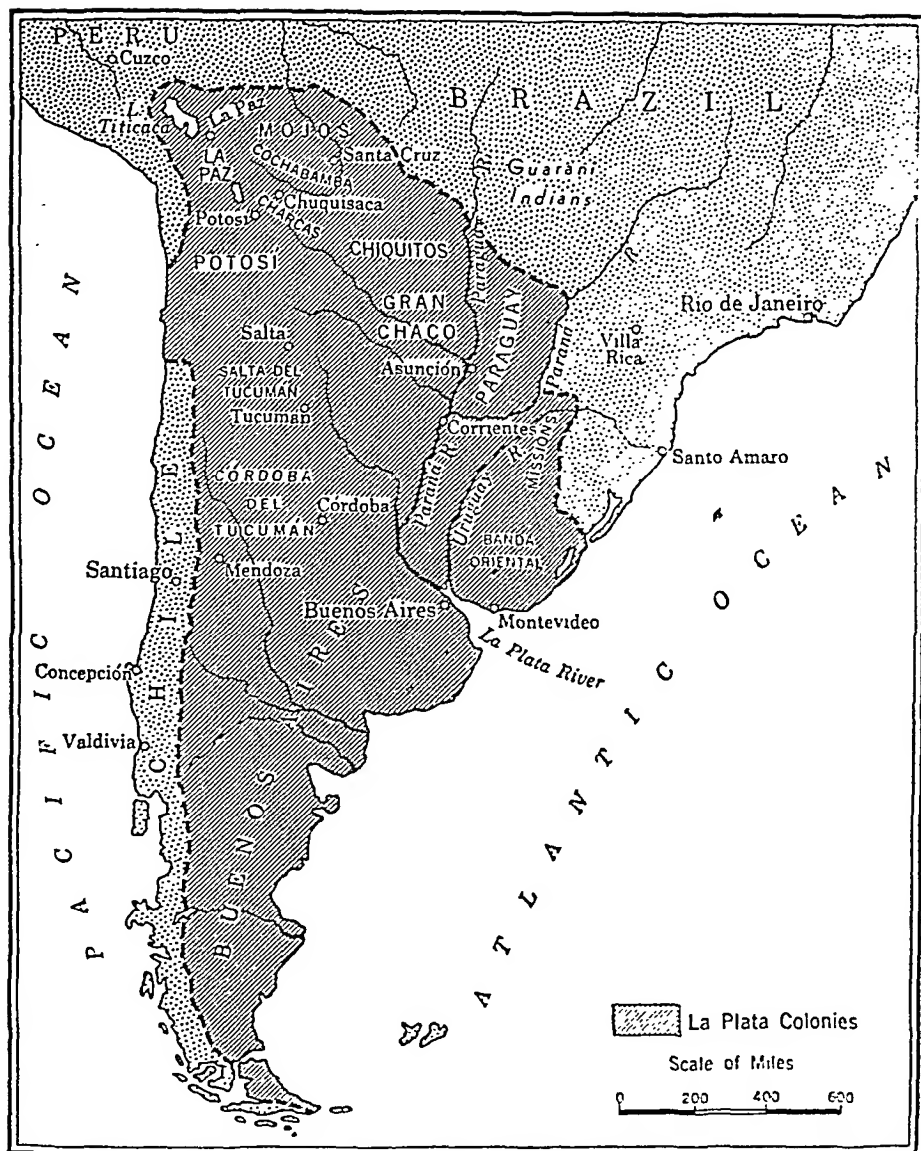
Modern Argentina is the best organized of the South American republics. Since it got a late start compared with other colonies, long years after its independence were required to bring about national unity. Buenos Aires paid tribute to the queenly city of Lima in the sixteenth century. Even Asunción, Paraguay, was the seat of a bishopric which once gave orders to the little town on La Plata River. There were two principal reasons for the backwardness of Argentina. The rule of Spain required that foreign trade be carried on through Lima and Panama, so that such trade with other than the mother country could be prevented. Since Argentina lacked the mineral wealth so richly possessed by the west coast of South America, the Plata region was one of the poorest and most backward colonial sections. Its Indians were, like those of North America, of a nomadic type and could not be reduced to the status of agricultural serfs. The colonists lived in sparsely settled communities and naturally enjoyed greater autonomy than did the richer groups in Peru and Mexico. On securing their independence, the people of the viceroyalty of La Plata had already developed two characteristics which are marked today — independence of action and close commercial and cul-

tural relations with the continent of Europe.

The first fight waged by the Argentines for their independence was against not Spain, but England. In 1806 a force of British soldiers on their return from South Africa, attacked Buenos Aires, with the intention of establishing there a port for their developing empire. The citizens, in spite of the ineptness of the Spanish authorities, rose with such ferocity that the British were decisively defeated. That lesson brewed a confidence in their power to defend themselves against a foreign foe that has remained with the Argentines until this day.

Strangely enough, the second fight for freedom was not against Spain either, but against Napoleon Bonaparte and his brother, who was occupying the Spanish throne. That uprising was on May 25, 1810. It resulted in the formation of the government of the United Provinces of Argentina, which was faithful to the deposed Spanish king, Ferdinand VII. It was not until July 9, 1816, that the movement culminated in a declaration of independence from Spain. On that day the congress meeting in the northern city of Tucumán declared:

Invoking the God who presides over the Universe, in the name and by the author-



ity of the people whom we represent . . . it is the unanimous desire of the United Provinces to sever the oppressive bonds which connect them with the kings of Spain; to recover the rights of which they were deprived, and to assume the exalted position of a nation free and independent of King Ferdinand VII. of his successors, and of the mother country, and to remain in consequence by fact and by right,

with full and ample power to give themselves the political organization which justice demands and which is required by the present circumstances. Each one and all of the provinces, thus, make public, declare and ratify this act, and on our part we pledge ourselves to the fulfilment and maintenance of their wish, under the security and guarantee of our lives, our property, and our honor.

An immense problem, that of unifying the numerous scattered groups, faced the signers of Argentina's Declaration of Independence, just as it did the founding fathers of the United States. Twelve years after the adoption of the Articles of Confederation the United States replaced them with a constitution uniting its states in a federal union. Argentina did not succeed in adopting a constitution which consolidated her provinces until 1853. Not until 1862, under General Bartolomé Mitre, was the federal government actually able to function. From the years 1816 to 1860 there were three outstanding political leaders, Bernardino Rivadavia, Juan Manuel Rosas, and General Justo José de Urquiza.

EARLY LEADERS OF ARGENTINA (1816-1860)

Bernardino Rivadavia. In 1820 Bernardino Rivadavia was minister of state of Buenos Aires. His desire was to unite the wild Gauchos, as the cowboys of the South American plains are called, with the urban-minded people of his city in order that a real nation could be built. In his efforts at reconstruction he put into effect a whole series of reforms in the civil government and the courts, as well as in the ecclesiastical and economic institutions of the province. He set the foundations for most of the solid principles which have assured Argentina's great development. He worked toward the establishment of universal suffrage, improved port and postal facilities, encouragement of immigration, regulation of the treasury, the founding of new schools (including a university), and control

of religious orders. Foreign trade increased rapidly, and the government's reputation abroad grew until it was able to obtain a \$3,000,000 loan from England for the improvement of ports and city water supplies. In 1824 the governments of both England and the United States extended recognition to Argentina. Rivadavia was called by Mitre the greatest statesman of America, with the exception of Washington. The nation has erected a statue to him in Buenos Aires on which is inscribed, "The Greatest of Argentines."

But the forces of division were too great for even a leader like Rivadavia. In an effort to bring the country together he resigned the presidency in 1827, after two years of labor toward this end. Soon there appeared on the scene the man who was to dominate Argentina for the next twenty-five years. This was the famous Juan Manuel de Rosas.

Juan Manuel de Rosas. Rosas was a strange combination of Gaucho and resident of metropolitan Buenos Aires. With such a combination of loyalties, he was able to rule Argentina in spite of the opposition of a strong group of liberals. Among the liberals who fought Rosas with their powerful pens were Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Juan Bautista Alberdi, and Bartolomé Mitre. During Rosas's regime they lived, for the most part, in exile in the neighboring countries of Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Peru, while they planned the downfall of the dictator. They were aided, indirectly, by France, who became so incensed at the treatment of foreigners that in 1838 it sent its fleet up La Plata River and blockaded Buenos

Aires in an effort to overthrow Rosas. In 1840 a treaty was signed under which the French claims were to be arbitrated, and the French withdrew. But Rosas did not live up to the terms of the treaty. Again he was in difficulty with France and also, a little later, with Great Britain, who objected to the effect on trade caused by Rosas's long blockade of Montevideo. In 1845 both France and Great Britain blockaded Buenos Aires and sent their fleets to assist in the defense of Montevideo. This invasion by the European powers was a major reason for the fall of Rosas. Even in his latter days, however, when he used cruelty to the utmost, he retained the loyalty of a certain number of the rich merchants and landholders. When he was compelled to retire from Argentina, he went to England on board a British ship and lived as a gentleman in Southampton until his death in 1877.

However grave his faults, Rosas had, no doubt, contributed to the cementing of Argentine unity. Let us pause here to consider this long struggle to find a balance between states' rights and an efficient central government. It had many features similar to the struggle in the United States. Both countries sustained a major war before the problem was settled. The province of La Plata was organized provisionally from 1810 to 1819 under various constitutional acts called "Provisional Statutes." Their first constitution was ratified by the congress at Buenos Aires in 1819. Five years later another convention in Buenos Aires drew up a constitution which was submitted to the provinces in 1826. It was rejected

by the majority. Then it was that the local military chieftains, or *caudillos*, came to power. From among them came the ruthless, efficient Rosas. He it was, strangely enough, who shaped and nurtured the federal idea. At the end of his regime the principle of unity was so firmly believed in that it was written into the constitution adopted at Santa Fé on May 1, 1853. This document, with substantial modifications in 1860 and lesser amendments in 1866 and 1898, is still the supreme law of Argentina.

Provisions of the Constitution of 1853. The federal government has the usual division into three branches; legislative, judicial, and executive. The legislative authority is vested in a Congress of two houses, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Two senators from each province are elected by their representative legislatures: two from the federal district are chosen by a special electoral commission. The term is for nine years, with no bar to re-election. The thirty members of the Senate may represent as many as eight political parties. Members of the Chamber of Deputies are chosen by direct popular vote, without property qualification, for four-year terms. The president of the republic and the vice-president are chosen directly by electors, as in the United States. The term of office is six years, and neither is eligible for an immediately succeeding term. The vice-president is the president of the senate. Eight ministers, or secretaries, provided for in the constitution, compose the official cabinet and must countersign the president's acts to give them validity.

Justo José de Urquiza. It was at the battle of Monte Caseros that Rosas was defeated by another of Argentina's rough soldiers, General Justo José de Urquiza, governor of the northern province of Entré Ríos. This battle was fought on February 3, 1852. For ten years thereafter the government of the Republic of Argentina was in the northern city of Paraná. During these ten years treaties were signed with the United States, Great Britain, and France; the Paraná and Uruguay rivers were opened to navigation; public education was promoted, and immigration was fostered. The province of Buenos Aires, which held aloof from the confederation during this period, also made notable progress.

LEADERS OF UNITED ARGENTINA (1862-1880)

Bartolomé Mitre. In 1862 General Bartolomé Mitre was made the president of a united Argentina, and the federation designated Buenos Aires as its capital. President Mitre is one of the outstanding characters of Argentina. A noted military leader, he is equally noted as a historian and an outstanding administrator. During Mitre's administration Argentina joined Brazil and Uruguay in war against the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio López. Mitre was commander of the federated troops in the field during a part of this five-year war. In the presidential elections which followed, Mitre, in spite of many temptations, refrained from naming a candidate. Writing to a friend he made the statement (which later became known as his *Testamento Político*) that he believed ex-

ecutives should not endeavor to influence the election of their successors.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. While he was in Washington as the representative of the Argentine government, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, who had already become famous as a friend of democracy, was elected president of his country. He was inaugurated on October 12, 1868. His administration is noted for many progressive movements. While in the United States he learned to admire the educational system of that country and formed a friendship with the well-known Massachusetts educator, Horace Mann. As president, Sarmiento invited a group of North American teachers to come to Argentina and establish normal schools and kindergartens. He was also enthusiastic on two other subjects, railroads and immigration. Concerning education and immigration he once said:

I have projected two bases for the regeneration of my country: the education of the present inhabitants, in order to raise them above the moral and racial degradation into which they have fallen, and the introduction of new races into the society of today. I have followed the two ideas of popular education and immigration; I have traveled that I might clarify them, perfect them, and make them practicable.

The administration of Sarmiento was not lacking in political disturbances. His successor, Nicolás Avelaneda, was compelled to suppress a revolution under the leadership of General Mitre.

ARGENTINA AFTER 1880

Julio Roca. The next president of Argentina was General Julio Roca, who was as vigorous in his way as

General Jackson proved to be when he became the president of the United States. Roca is especially known for his campaign against the Indians, in which he drove them from the rich plains of central Argentina into the less fertile northern and southern sections. Thus he released rich farm lands for the use of immigrants. Europeans had by now discovered the riches of Argentina and were coming into the country at the rate of 100,000 per year. This epoch marks the beginning of modern Argentina. During General Roca's administration, from 1880 to 1886, foreign trade was doubled and railroad mileage was increased 100 per cent. The total number of immigrants who settled in Argentina during this six-year period reached 483,000.

Political turmoil, however, had not yet ceased. Several successors of General Roca met with attempts at revolution. In 1898 the country, feeling the need of a strong government, called Roca again to the presidency. He chose as his minister of foreign affairs the noted internationalist, Dr. Luis M. Drago. It was at this time that Dr. Drago, in a note to the United States, expressed what became known as the "Drago Doctrine." He stated, in connection with the blockading of Venezuelan ports by Germany and other countries for the purpose of collecting debts, that no nation had the right to collect debts by force. During President Roca's administration the long-standing boundary dispute with Chile was settled, currency was stabilized, and a labor law was passed.

In 1904 Dr. Manuel Quintana was president of Argentina. At that time

he suppressed, with considerable difficulty, a violent revolution. Upon his death, the vice-president, Dr. Figueroa Alcorta, succeeded to the presidency. He promoted public education and established the first rural schools in Argentina.

Roque Sáenz Peña. One of the Argentine delegates to the First Pan-American Conference in Washington in 1889, Dr. Roque Sáenz Peña, served as president of Argentina from 1910 to 1912. His administration was especially noted for the adoption of the secret ballot. The electoral laws were reformed in order to allow a larger number of people to participate. All citizens were to be allowed to vote, and minorities were given proportional representation. The reform was in response to a widespread demand.

Victorino de la Plaza. When President Sáenz Peña fell ill, he was replaced by the vice-president, Victorino de la Plaza. With the outbreak of the first World War he had to meet great economic difficulties. When the flow of foreign capital and foreign goods was curtailed, unemployment grew, and economic and financial difficulties became severe. It was then that the United States invited representatives of Argentina and other Latin-American countries to attend a financial conference at Washington. This conference initiated a closer economic relationship between Buenos Aires and Washington.

Hipólito Irigoyen. In 1916 the radical party of Argentina surprisingly won the presidential elections. Hipólito Irigoyen, a strange combination of radical and isolationist (in his policy of political detachment from other countries), became president. He as-

signed his salary to charity, announced his friendship with labor, and proceeded to govern Argentina with a strong hand. He refused all pressure to carry Argentina into the war on the side of the allies, opened a thousand new schools, inaugurated social legislation, and reformed the labor codes.

The postwar conditions brought many labor strikes in Buenos Aires and at least one strike movement on a national scale, which tied up the railroads, the newspaper plants, and other public utilities in most parts of the country. However, when the cultured leader of the radical party, Dr. Marcelo de Alvear, succeeded Irigoyen to the presidency in 1922, there was a period of readjustment. This period included less excitement than most Argentine presidents had experienced during their terms in office.

In 1928 Hipólito Irigoyen, now eighty years old, was again elected president. He immediately began an endeavor to isolate the country from the rest of the world, as he also isolated himself from the general public, and especially from the capitalistic classes in Argentina itself. He attempted to attend to all of the affairs of government personally. As a result, important offices remained unfilled, and much of the business of government remained at a standstill. The beginning of the world depression intensified discontent among all classes. Because of this the more conservative capitalists and landed interests united with the army to overthrow him. Long before his downfall opposition to the government's program had steadily grown in intensity.

Although Irigoyen set himself up as a friend of the common people and was worshiped by them, he was violently hated by the aristocrats, and it became more evident day by day that a change was imminent. Rumors of all kinds were afloat. Finally, on September 6, 1930, all Buenos Aires heard the droning of military airplanes which circled over the city, heralding the army's revolt. On that day General José F. Uriburu, commander in chief of the army, entered the government house with his staff and seized the reins of power.

The Dictatorship of José F. Uriburu. The government of General Uriburu was a dictatorship which represented the conservative groups of the country. He was an influential army officer, the son of a former conservative president, and was supported by the old aristocracy. Although he acknowledged the triumph of the radicals in elections in the province of Buenos Aires, he refused to permit them to take office. The people of Argentina, unused to such violent suppression of liberty, were so dissatisfied that they demanded that presidential elections be held. The majority party of the radicals was led by the distinguished former president, Marcelo de Alvear. Uriburu soon announced, however, that the radical candidate was disqualified. This caused the radicals to refuse to go to the polls on November 8, 1931.

Agustín P. Justo. The conservative nominee, Agustín P. Justo, was elected. President Justo continued the persecution of the radicals and, from time to time, imprisoned or exiled some of the most distinguished Argentine citizens. On the whole,

ARGENTINA

however, his regime proved to be a wise compromise between the military power and the civil administration. The power of dictatorship was gradually lessened. Relations with the United States were sufficiently friendly for President Roosevelt to visit Argentina in 1936 and to open the Buenos Aires Peace Conference. Roosevelt received a hearty welcome from the people of Argentina.

Roberto Ortiz. In 1938 the successor of General Justo, Dr. Roberto Ortiz, initiated a clear-cut return to democratic life. He had been elected on the conservative ticket, although the radicals were acknowledged to be the most powerful political party. Dr. Ortiz soon lost the support of the more reactionary members of his party. He was a president without party support—a situation which made his position exceedingly difficult. When a scandal concerning graft in the war department was unearthed, Dr. Ortiz submitted his resignation, but it was not accepted by congress. However, his health had broken, and within a few months he was obliged to surrender his office to the vice-president, Dr. Ramón Castillo. In May, 1942, Ortiz died. This placed the whole responsibility of government, in a particularly critical time, upon a man who had not been elected to the presidency.

Ramón Castillo. Castillo has been called "The Fox" because of his astute handling of political questions, and his power to carry everything in favor of the conservatives. The influence of Nazi Germany in Argentina was powerful. Castillo was known to be a friend of the German ambassador. The socialist and radi-

cal members of the congress, after an investigation, reported the enormous power of fifth-column activities in the country. They called for a break in diplomatic relations with Germany, but this was resisted by Castillo.

On June 6, 1943, President Castillo was overthrown by a military uprising, led by General Pedro Ramírez, minister of war, who became president. At first it was supposed that the Ramírez government would co-operate with the United Nations and break relations with the Axis. Instead of such action, however, the new administration introduced the first real Fascist regime in America patterned after European models. The freedom of the press and the right to hold meetings and discuss public questions were denied. Germany was favored. Jews were persecuted. Efforts were begun to have Argentina regarded as the American asylum of European Fascists if and when the Axis should be defeated. Critics were jailed or sent to the cold unbearable concentration camps near the Strait of Magellan. A program of turning neighboring countries into Fascist territory seemed to show some success when a revolution in Bolivia, in December, 1943, instated a government which Argentina immediately recognized. However, dissatisfied Argentines, deeply committed to democracy, established themselves in Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and other centers and began working for the overthrow of the deposed Ramírez dictatorship.

Finally, in January, 1944, as a result of a combination of domestic and international factors, Argentina decided to sever relations with the Axis.

Buenos Aires Illustrates Progress. The city of Buenos Aires is one of the best illustrations of the pulsating enthusiasm of South America, with its constant struggle between the old and the new, geographically, economically, spiritually. A city of nearly 3,000,000 people, its first impression is to astound the foreigner. A people who can build a world center like this challenges attention. As the visitor grows more familiar with the landmarks, he realizes that the city has various moods. With its boulevards and cafés and clubs it is like Paris. Its trade in cattle and wheat, its banks and new skyscrapers, make of it the Chicago of the South. Meeting the diplomats, the international commissions, and the intellectual leaders who come to the new rich world to sell their ideas, one calls it another Washington, for it is truly a cosmopolitan center, the crossroads of the world.

The rapid growth of Buenos Aires makes marvelous history. Its first passenger dock was opened in 1855. In 1888 it had a population of 300,000; a half century later it had 3,000,000. As for the country itself, at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, Argentina had fewer than 2,000,000 inhabitants; twenty-five years later it had 4,000,000 inhabitants, and by 1938 over 13,000,000. The province of Buenos Aires, which is half as large as France but contains only 3,000,000 inhabitants, shows the possibilities for future development. The territory of Santa Cruz, about the same size, has only 12,000 population. Besides two of the greatest newspapers of modern times, *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, both of which have more than a quarter of a million circulation among the read-

ers of Spanish, there are dailies printed in more than a dozen foreign languages. The bookshops and the magazine stands in Buenos Aires display an amazing amount of literature produced in Argentina itself, to say nothing of the literary importations in many tongues from all the lands of the earth.

Capitalism Enthroned. Argentina is proud of its position as a leader, and is desirous of maintaining the reputation of being a modern, progressive nation. The white race predominates, a fact which sociologists strongly emphasize. Members of the white aristocracy are anxious to keep out the foreign element that might bring further revolutions. Immigration is desired only as it augments the white element and serves the rich classes.

Argentina is a rich, young nation whose resources are so great that it may be blinded to the possibility of overdrawing on the future. With most citizens absorbed in business, politics is left to the politicians. Except in extreme situations, such as the last few days of the Irigoyen administration, the average individual and the press pay little attention to the way in which the government is run, and, far different from most other Latin-American countries, politics is not an absorbing topic of conversation. The capitalistic system is unanimously accepted by the ruling classes, who lament the presence of the few "foreign agitators" among the laboring class, and a group of "parlor bolsheviks" among the intellectuals.

This does not mean that within the accepted capitalistic system there is not much opposition to abuses. The

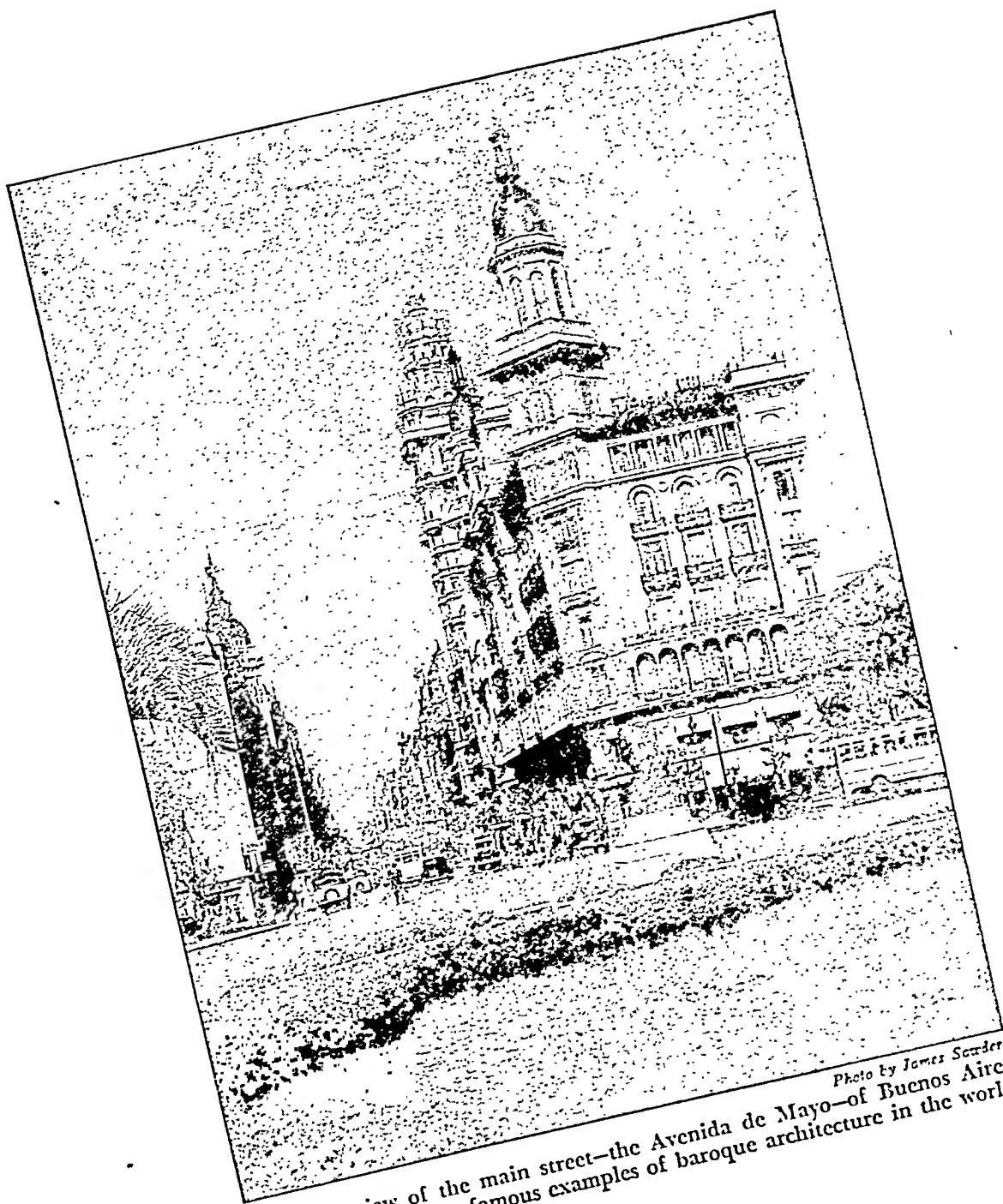


Photo by James Sanders
This is a view of the main street—the Avenida de Mayo—of Buenos Aires.
It is one of the most famous examples of baroque architecture in the world.

strong socialist party is a thorn in the side of the majority political group. It works for reforms with great vigor, but for reforms within the system, not for a new system itself.

Economic Life. Argentina is today the leading commercial nation of Latin America. Agriculture is the principal source of wealth. On the vast alluvial plain in the Plata Basin, extending from the Pilcomayo River on the north to the Rio Negro on the south, is a territory of about 600,000 square miles. This is the great farming region of Argentina, devoted to the raising of wheat, maize, oats, barley, linseed, and alfalfa. Stock raising is another very important industry of Argentina. Sugar cane is grown in the northern provinces. The Chaco is important for its production of quebracho extract and quebracho logs.

International Foreign Relations. The foreign relations of Argentina have been less disturbed than have those of most countries. Four trends may be noted. First, a disposition to settle disputes by arbitration. Half a century ago Argentina began the practice of signing treaties with other nations to settle disputes of every nature by peaceful means. The United States has been called on at various times to participate in the arbitration of disputes in which Argentina has been involved. When the Paraguayan War was over, an Argentine statesman declared that "victory gives no rights." Instead of demanding certain territory between the Pilcomayo and Verde rivers, Argentina agreed to let President Hayes of the United States act as arbiter. His decision fixed the Pilcomayo River as the boundary

in the Chaco region separating Argentina and Paraguay, thus assigning only the southern part of the region to Argentina.

Again, in 1895, a dispute arose between Argentina and Brazil over territory lying between the Iguassú and the Uruguay rivers. President Cleveland arbitrated the dispute. Again Argentina lost. As before, she accepted the decision without debate.

On still another occasion, in 1899, United States Ambassador Buchanan was requested to become a member of a commission to arbitrate the northern boundary between Chile and Argentina. Mr. Buchanan practically cast the deciding vote in this case, since he was the neutral member of the commission.

One of the most famous of arbitration victories had to do with a dispute concerning part of the boundary between Chile and Argentina. When these two countries had made all preparations for war, the friends of peace succeeded in having the question referred to arbitration. The king of England, aided by a group of engineers, rendered a decision, in 1903, which settled the location of the dividing line following the high peaks of the Andes. This was accepted by both parties. A distinguished lady in Buenos Aires suggested that some of the cannon purchased for the war should be melted to cast a statue of the Prince of Peace. The statue was cast, and with great difficulty it was hauled up the mountainside to a point on the boundary in direct line between Buenos Aires and Santiago. On an appointed day in 1904 delegations from the two countries met for the dedication of this wonderful statue

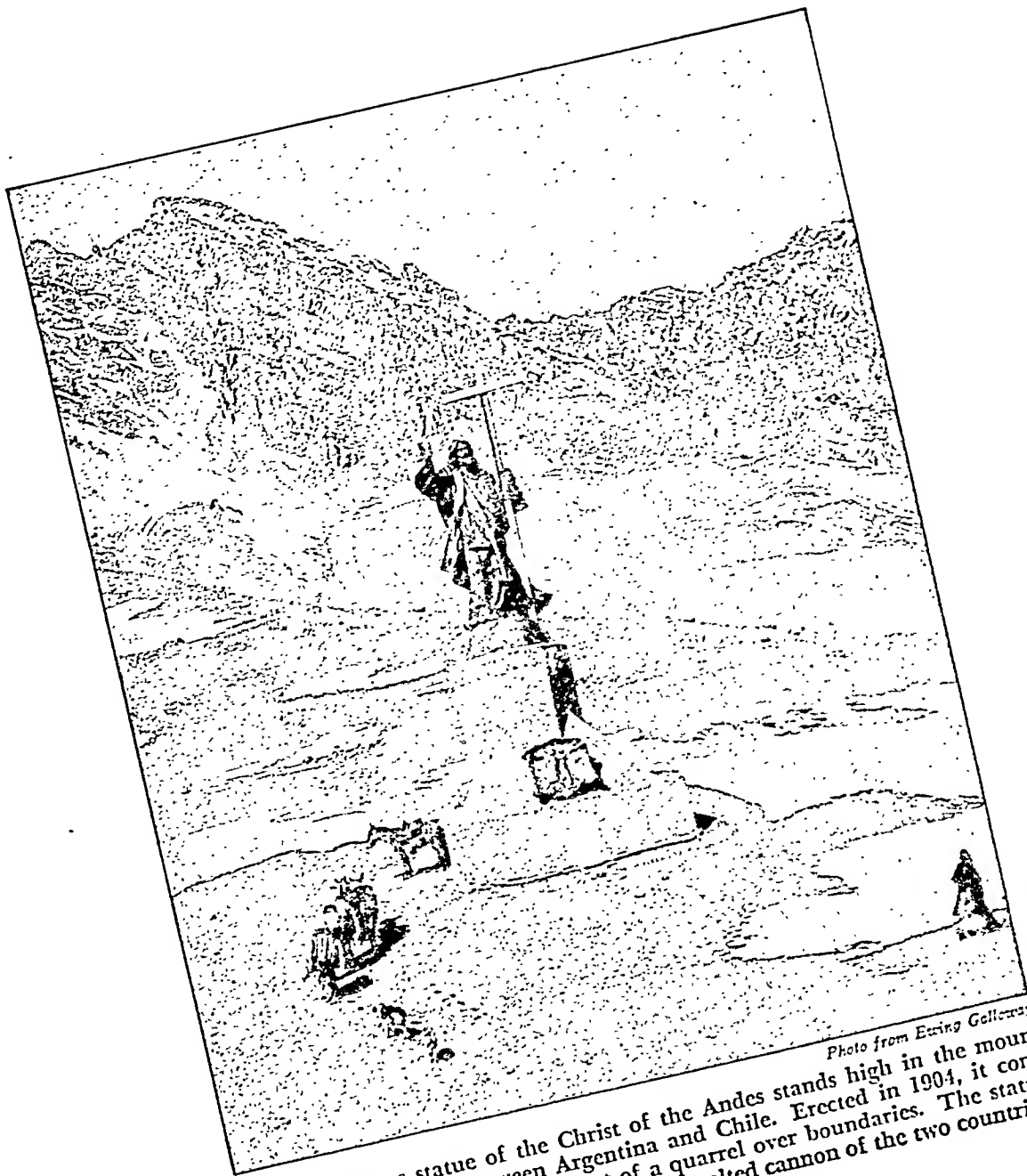


Photo from Ewing Galloway
The famous statue of the Christ of the Andes stands high in the mountains on the border between Argentina and Chile. Erected in 1904, it commemorates the peaceful settlement of a quarrel over boundaries. The statue was made by a famous sculptor out of the melted cannon of the two countries.

of the Christ of the Andes. The Argentines moved to the Chilean side, and the Chileans moved across the line into their neighbor's territory. There they dedicated the monument with these famous words of one of the speakers: "Sooner shall these mountains turn to dust than the people of Argentina and Chile break the peace which they this day have declared at the feet of their Redeemer."

The second trend in Argentine foreign policy is that which the Argentines call "universality." This has been interpreted as a denial of any special Pan-American organization. Argentina believes in world unity. She has been especially friendly to Europe. At times she has seemed more careful not to offend European nations than she has to befriend her sister American republics. With her emphasis on arbitration and international law, she has been more resentful probably than any other American nation at the armed interventions of the United States in small Caribbean countries.

A third policy of Argentina, growing out of her strength, has been a tendency to dominate the Plata River region. In the early days she was often at war with Brazil over the question as to which would control Uruguay. She has always had a dominant position in weak Paraguay, and has usually endeavored to control the policy of Bolivia. This has made her a rival of her great northern neighbor, Brazil. Just before the first World War an understanding known as the ABC Agreement was reached by Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. While this agreement is no longer in effect, these three countries have, during the

last fifteen years, made great efforts to adjust their differences and co-operate in their foreign policies.

The fourth characteristic of Argentine foreign policy is its dominance by the nation's economic needs. This is not, of course, unusual. But Argentina has been more frank in announcing it than have most nations. "Buy from those who buy from you" has been a motto much quoted in Argentina during the last decade. It has often struck heavily at United States commerce and greatly favored that of Great Britain and Germany. At times this has seemed to go further than mere economics and to indicate a prejudice against the United States, but Argentine statesmen have always denied this. With the signing of the trade pact between the United States and Argentina in 1940, trade relations between the two countries greatly improved.

With the coming of the second World War, Argentina found herself in the same position as in the first World War in that her friendships and economic relations were intimately bound up with Europe. Her great agricultural barons sympathized with the Fascist theories. The majority of her people are thoroughly democratic. They are coming increasingly to believe that the idea of "Yankee imperialism" has been overemphasized, that the future of Argentina is with America. The Argentine government under President Ortiz moved toward intimate co-operation with the United States, Great Britain, and the other United Nations. With the illness and death of Dr. Ortiz in 1942, his vice-president and successor, Dr. Ramón Castillo, endeavored to chart

a course of neutrality. This led to a state of siege and the suppression of a free press, a condition which was greatly resented by the people. When Brazil declared war on the Axis Powers on August 22, 1942, it made the position of Argentina more difficult than ever. At war, Brazil would necessarily enlarge her army and navy to the point where Argentina with her military forces at a peacetime level would be at a disadvantage.

Argentina has often opposed the United States at Pan-American conferences. Each of these nations, because of its strategic position, is inclined to believe that it ought to have the authority of the big brother in the Pan-American family. Their disagreements are due, not so much to their differences as to their similarities. Both occupy similar geographic positions, one north, the other south of the equator. Both have made a strong point of neutrality in wars that did not especially touch their own interests. Both have tended to deal directly and individually with other nations and to question the advisability of trusting their problems to international organizations—although the United States co-operated much less with the League of Nations than Argentina has with the Pan American Union.

In spite of their numerous disagreements Argentina has never but once had a serious diplomatic dispute with the United States—the one concerning the Falkland Islands. Lying off the southeastern coast of Argentina, these islands are valuable for their strategic approach to the Strait of Magellan and as a naval base which, if con-

trolled by a hostile power, would greatly endanger Argentina. In the eighteenth century Great Britain had claimed these islands, but Spain had denied the claim and maintained a small garrison there up to the time of Argentina's independence. In 1823 Argentina appointed a governor and later granted him a monopoly of seal fisheries for twenty years. This was a denial of the right of the United States and other countries to fish in these seas. As a result the Argentine governor, Louis Vernet, seized three American whaling vessels and arrested the crews. The United States consul protested this act, and sent the U.S.S. *Lexington* to the Falklands to exact reprisals (1831).

A diplomatic controversy ensued which has not yet been settled. To complicate matters, a British warship soon arrived and took possession of the islands, declaring that Britain had never surrendered her claim of the previous century. From that day the British have retained control. Argentina's protests to the United States for damages for the attack on her settlement have been renewed from time to time. The reply of the United States has always been that it could not consider the question so long as the ownership of the islands was in dispute. The last protest to Washington was made in 1886. Periodic claims on Great Britain for the return of the islands have also been made by Argentina. The second World War offered a favorable opportunity for the two Anglo-Saxon democracies to arrange a friendly settlement of this long-standing question.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. The Leaders of Argentine History. The following statements deal with events in chronological order. Match each statement with the correct name from the list of leaders by writing the letter of the leader in the parentheses in front of the statement.

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| a. Urquiza | h. Castillo |
| b. Drago | i. Sáenz Peña |
| c. Irigoyen | j. Roca |
| d. Rivadavia | k. Uríburu |
| e. Sarmiento | l. Ortiz |
| f. Rosas | m. Mitre |
| g. Ramírez | n. la Plaza |

- () 1. His monument is inscribed: "The Greatest of Argentines."
- () 2. A dictator whose mistreatment of foreigners caused the British and French to blockade Buenos Aires.
- () 3. The general who defeated the dictator in 1853.
- () 4. The president who declined to dictate the choice of his successor.
- () 5. The president who invited United States teachers to Argentina.
- () 6. The president who, like Andrew Jackson, drove the Indians from the good farmlands.
- () 7. The originator of the doctrine that no nation has the right to collect debts by force.
- () 8. The president who introduced the secret ballot in elections and increased the number of eligible voters.
- () 9. The president who kept Argentina neutral in World War I.
- () 10. The leader who staged an army revolt in 1930, and disqualified the other party's candidate in the new presidential election.
- () 11. A liberal president who had to resign because of ill health.
- () 12. A conservative, called "The Fox," who refused to break relations with the Axis.
- () 13. Leader of an army revolution which set up the first European-type dictatorship in the Americas.

B. Argentina's Foreign Relations. Each of the following generalizations relates to one of the four trends of Argentina's foreign policy, and is followed by a group of supporting statements. If the generalization is true, write T in front of it; if false, write F. Then encircle the letter of each supporting statement which is true.

- () 1. Argentina arbitrates disputes with her neighbors.
 - a. In a boundary dispute with Paraguay, Argentina agreed to have United States President Hayes arbitrate.
 - b. A conflict with the Paraguayan dictator, López II, was arbitrated.
 - c. A boundary dispute with Chile was arbitrated and the statue of Christ of the Andes commemorates the agreement.
 - d. United States President Cleveland arbitrated a boundary dispute with Brazil in 1895.
 - e. Argentina and Britain agreed to arbitrate the title to the Falkland Islands.

- () 2. Argentina follows the policy of trading with all nations without discrimination.
- In prewar days she imported as readily from the United States as from Britain.
 - But imports from Germany were favored over United States goods.
 - Her motto seems to be: "Buy from those who buy from you."
- () 3. Argentina believes in "universality" in foreign relations and is opposed to special regional agreements.
- She has favored United States intervention in the Caribbean.
 - She has even closer ties with Europe than with the other Pan-American countries.
 - She has been neutral in both world wars.
- () 4. Argentina tends to dominate the La Plata River region.
- She has always had a dominant position in Paraguay.
 - She has fought to keep Brazil from controlling Uruguay.
 - She often influences Chile's foreign policy.

C. Some Argentine Developments. In the following statements about Argentina, the word in *italics* is the KEY word. If the statement is true, write the letter T in the blank. If it is not true, write in the blank space provided the word which should be substituted to make the statement true.

- _____ 1. The population of Buenos Aires, in the period of 1888-1938, multiplied itself by *five*.
- _____ 2. In January, 1944, the Ramírez government *decided* to break with the Axis.
- _____ 3. *Manufacturing* is the chief source of wealth in Argentina.
- _____ 4. In World War II the wealthy classes tend to be *Fascist* in sympathies, while the masses are not.
- _____ 5. The Ramírez government *does not* allow freedom of speech.
- _____ 6. The only serious diplomatic conflict between Argentina and the United States was over the subject of *beef*.

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments. (See general instructions under this heading, p. viii.)

1. Write a paragraph explaining the most important contributions of Rosas, of Mitre, and of Sarmiento to the development of Argentina.

2. Why were the liberal groups in Argentina and elsewhere disappointed when ill health caused President Ortiz to be replaced by Vice-President Castillo, and when Castillo was overthrown by General Ramírez?

3. Write a short comment on this statement: "The revolution led by General Ramírez was the first event of that kind in Argentine history."

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Carr, Katherine, *South American Primer*. Ch. 3.

Gunther, John, *Inside Latin America*. Ch. 19-21.

Herring, Hubert, *Good Neighbors*. Part I (pp. 11-101).

Inman, Samuel Guy, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*, pp. 196-201.

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Chs. 8, 12, and 17.

Williams, Mary W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ch. 29.

III. URUGUAY AND PARAGUAY

We now turn from the great republic of Argentina to consider her two small cousins, Uruguay and Paraguay. It is necessary to keep in mind an important fact in geography and one in history in order to understand these three countries. They are all bound together by the system of rivers called Río de la Plata, or the River Plate, to use a colloquial term adopted by the English. This "River of Silver" is really an arm of the Atlantic Ocean, which receives the combined waters of two great rivers, the Uruguay and the Paraná, plus three tributaries, of which the Paraguay River is the most important. This latter extends throughout the Republic of Paraguay, far into the interior of Brazil. Geographically, then, these three countries are well designated as the Río de la Plata republics. Historically, this fact was recognized in colonial days by all this great territory being politically united under the Viceroyalty of La Plata. In spite of the fact that Uruguay and Paraguay had declared their separate existence at the time the La Plata region broke away from Spain, it is natural that Argentina should continue to exercise a certain dominance in this immensely rich section of valleys and plains.

URUGUAY

Four Periods of Uruguayan History. The history of the Republic of Uruguay may be divided into four sections. The first is the struggle for independence, which began in 1811 and closed with the recognition of Uruguay as an independent state by Argentina and Brazil in 1828. The second (1828-1870) was a period of anarchy and includes the many efforts of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, France, and England to control the destinies of this buffer state. The third period (1870-1903) was one of continued struggle between the two political parties, the *Blancos* ("whites") and *Colorados* ("reds") for power, with a continued state of revolution and counter-revolution. The fourth, the modern period, begins with the presidency of the greatest of all Uruguayan presidents—and one of the greatest men America has produced—José Batlle y Ordóñez. It marks the period of great social advance, when Uruguay, along with New Zealand, led the world in social government.

José Gervasio Artigas. The hero of Uruguayan independence is José Gervasio Artigas. A great monument stands in the center of Montevideo to commemorate his patriotism. The

revolution in the Banda Oriental, as Uruguay was then called, began in February, 1811, when Artigas, a captain in the Spanish army, joined the revolutionaries in Buenos Aires. From this time on until 1820 Artigas was recognized as the leader in the movement for independence in the Banda Oriental. Artigas was a rough warrior, not unlike the United States frontiersman, David Crockett. An Englishman who visited the army headquarters of Artigas described this "Protector of Free Peoples" as sitting on an ox skull before the camp fire with his Gaucho soldiers, eating an enormous beefsteak broiled over the fire.

Artigas at first co-operated with Buenos Aires in the struggle against the Spaniards. But when he found that this would mean the subjection of his people to Argentina, he turned against that country. Attacked on one side by Argentina and on the other by Brazil, he was driven finally to take refuge in Paraguay. Here he lived the simple life of a farmer under the protection of that country's great, mysterious dictator called "El Supremo." There he died on September 23, 1850. His remains were transferred six years later to the National Pantheon at Montevideo.

The greatness of Artigas consists in his deep devotion to democracy. Many of the *caudillos* (the chieftains of guerrilla forces) of that day fought bravely at the side of their men for freedom. But often they had no conception of the large significance of democratic government for all. Artigas was the kind of man who would be in the front of the battle whenever the cause of liberty was endangered.

Uruguay was formerly called Banda Oriental, a name meaning the "eastern side of the Plata." It has always been a buffer state between Portuguese Brazil and Spanish Argentina. Its rich plains, its delightful climate, and its strategic position commanding the approaches to much of eastern South America have made its control a much-desired objective of many nations. The latest to plan such a control were the Nazis. In 1940 a secret plan was unearthed by which they hoped to control both Argentina and Brazil by their storm troops then being organized in Uruguay. This plan was discovered and smashed by a people notable for their devotion to democracy.

Following the retirement of Artigas to Paraguay, Brazil occupied Uruguay. Its annexation to the Brazilian Empire was announced on May 9, 1824. But a group of Uruguayans, known as the "Immortal Thirty-three," crossed the river from Argentina and led a rebellion against Brazil. Argentina was drawn into the conflict on the side of Lavalleja, the Uruguayan leader. The Brazilians were defeated. They then agreed with Argentina that the Banda Oriental should be allowed to set up its own independent government. Thus, after seventeen years of war, the "República Oriental del Uruguay" came into existence in 1828.

Period of Anarchy. The *caudillos*, or local leaders, found it easy to start an armed movement against their opponents by appealing for aid to one of their powerful neighbors, either Argentina or Brazil. Dictator Rosas of Argentina continually interfered with Uruguayan affairs. Rosas felt

out with France and England, and these countries used their navies to dominate Montevideo from 1838 to 1851.

This long siege was known as the *Guerra Grande* and is famous in Uruguayan history. For a decade the national government had been disrupted. Schools were closed, and bandits infested the country regions. Disorders continued. In 1864 Brazil again sent an army into Uruguay to compel a better treatment of Brazilian citizens. This interference was resented by López II of Paraguay. Thus the long and destructive Paraguayan War was started over the question as to what outside forces should dominate Uruguay. In the war with Paraguay, Uruguay acted as an ally of Brazil and Argentina. She received no benefits from that five-years' struggle (1865-1870). After the Paraguayan War intervention by other countries in the affairs of Uruguay practically ceased. During most of this period there was no let up in the constant battles between the two factions, the Blancos and the Colorados. But in 1903 a remarkable man by the name of José Batlle y Ordóñez was elected president and started his country on a new epoch.

The Era of Batlle. Batlle was born in Montevideo, May 21, 1856. He was the son of Lorenzo Batlle, president of the republic from 1868 to 1872. He attended the law school of the university but left just before he was graduated. He then journeyed to Paris, where he gained new ideas about government. When he was thirty years of age, he founded the Montevideo daily, *El Día*. This paper, from the beginning of its publication,

was an intimate part of its director's life. He worked continually to establish new conceptions of government and his leadership was recognized when he was elected president of the republic in 1903.

The customary revolution was started by members of the opposition party. With surprising vigor Batlle overcame his enemies. He then granted them unusually liberal terms of surrender. This ended revolutions in Uruguay. The people were kept busy with the considerations of new social reforms which the president and his followers continually urged. Batlle encouraged free elections, and another socially minded member of the Colorado party, Dr. Claudio Williman, was chosen as Batlle's successor.

While Williman was building railroads, improving harbors, and initiating social legislation, Batlle went to Switzerland to study the problems of government. During his stay in that most democratic of European countries he developed a complete political and social creed. He noted that Switzerland confided its government to a group of men rather than to one individual. Meditating on the subject, he developed the idea of government through the collegiate system, that is, government by a group. But no kind of government, he believed, could succeed unless it accepted responsibilities for the happiness and prosperity of its citizens. Armed with these two ideas, Batlle returned to Uruguay. He was re-elected president in 1911 and startled the people by outlining his two revolutionary views in *El Día* on the very day of his triumph. His political opponents were

enraged. The president gathered around him a brilliant group of young men. Training them in his school of thought, he sent them to all parts of the country to explain to the people the doctrine of collegiate government and social legislature.

When Batlle retired from the presidency in 1915, the country was seething with discussions about these problems of government. Under the presidency of Dr. Feliciano Viera (1915-1919), a constitutional convention was called. It met in the national university in the fall of 1917. There followed one of the most brilliant discussions of political and social problems ever heard in South America.

The new constitution promulgated in 1919 did not contain all of Batlle's ideas. It provided, however, for several new conceptions of government, including the following: the president was invested with the command of the army and police force and was made the official representative of the nation in international affairs. Sharing the executive power with him, a national council of administration, composed of nine citizens, was to be elected by the people. It was charged with administering public instruction, the national budget, and newly organized corporations that should carry on business for the state. Church and state were separated. Foreigners residing in Uruguay were allowed Uruguayan citizenship without abandoning the citizenship of their native lands. A neutral electoral court was set up to determine all matters related to elections. The death penalty was abolished. Voting was by secret ballot with identification by photo-

graph and finger prints. The rights of labor, old-age pensions, and the protection and education of children were provided.

The first president to govern under the new constitution was a brilliant young friend of Batlle, Dr. Baltazar Brum. He was a man of tremendous energy. He spent much of his time with the Gauchos and farmers. Under him Uruguay enjoyed a democratic and socialized government, probably the best South America had ever known.

He was succeeded by José Serrato (1923-1927) and Juan Campisteguy (1927-1931). Elections were conducted fairly. The number of voters increased from 46,000 in 1905 to 318,000 in 1930. In 1928 a national meat-packing plant was established as a yardstick for meat prices. Two years later another government corporation was set up for the monopoly of alcohol. Road building was rapidly advanced under a national corporation that produced its own cement and made a record for efficiency without graft.

The Common Man's Country. "Our population may be divided into those who have received more than they deserve and those who have received less," said Batlle. But he went on to say that there is no reason for class hatred. "The real source of inequality," he declared, "is the difficulty of arriving at a just distribution." That it was the duty of the state to work out this just distribution was Batlle's profound conviction. His success was due to his ability to convey this conviction to a large number of young men who followed him with the utmost devotion. -

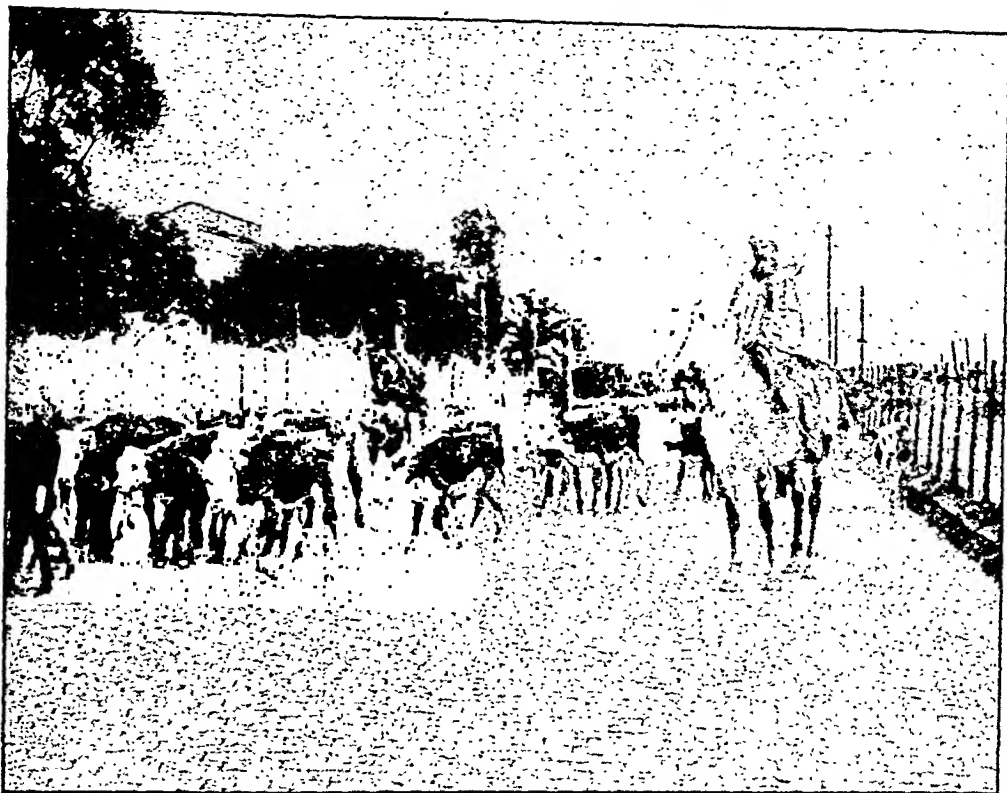


Photo by James Scurders

The Gauchos are driving their cattle along the road to Montevideo, the largest port of Uruguay. There the cattle will be slaughtered in the great packing plants and shipped to many sections of the world.

"Every Uruguayan has a right to demand subsistence from the state," Batlle told the congress in 1916. The first social-security law passed, July 4, 1908, made the employer liable for all industrial accidents. The same law sought to improve working conditions in a number of ways. Workers on railways and in mines were protected by special decrees. The State Insurance Bank was established and began a campaign against accidents in 1914. A permanent disability brought compensation amounting to two thirds of the annual wage, and a temporary disability awarded half the annual wage received at the time of the accident. Old-age pensions were initiated in

1914. Thus, a quarter of a century before the United States began its social-security program, Uruguay started hers. Since those early days she has continued to improve legislation for the benefit of the poor man.

The other section of Uruguay's socialized government has to do with the public corporations. These are organized by the government to carry on certain business activities. They include the State Insurance Bank, the Electric Light and Power Monopoly, the National Packing House (*Frigorífico Nacional*), post, telegraph and telephone corporations, the Railways and Port Authority, and state banks. The municipality of Montevideo con-

ducts a number of hotels. These corporations are appointed as well as financed by the government for the sake of carrying on a certain business. They have the right to engage and to dismiss employees and to conduct their business according to their best judgment. The idea behind these corporations is that they will give better service to the public than will private organizations, especially since most of the latter are conducted by foreigners. While congress is permitted to express general opinions on broad principles, the corporation is kept free from political influence and is encouraged to conduct itself on business principles.

Two main objections have been raised to the socialized practices in Uruguay. One is that it is not fair to foreign capital; the other is that it is too expensive. When the depression hit Uruguay in the early 1930's, there was much complaint about the high taxes necessary to sustain the inclusive social-security program. When congress refused to accept the recommendation of President Gabriel Terra for certain changes, the president reverted to the old habit of organizing a strong-arm government. He dismissed the congress and conducted affairs by decree.

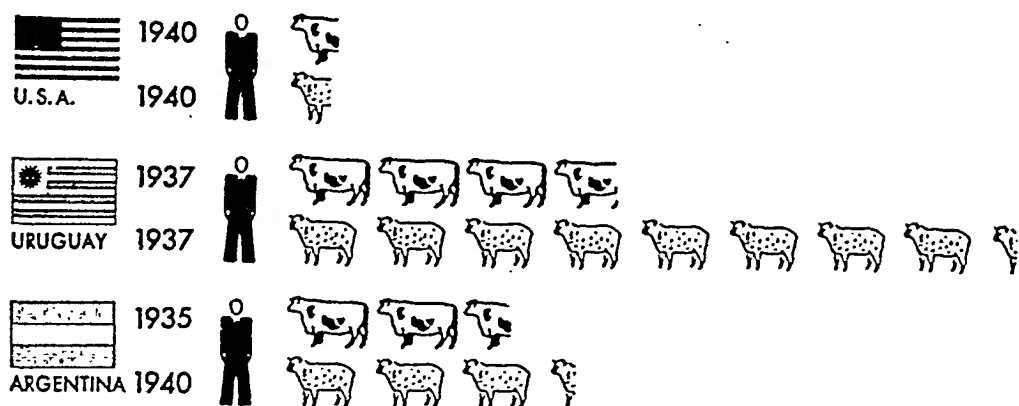
A constitutional assembly was called in 1934. The collegiate system, which divided the executive power between the presidency and the administrative council, was eliminated. In its stead there was provided a council of ministers of nine members appointed by the president. These must be selected from the two parties polling the largest number of votes in the presidential elections and three of them must be from the minority party. The social

conceptions of Batlle were conserved; his main ideas were retained. The constitution provided for the establishment of industrial corporations owned by the state, social insurance, regulation of labor conditions, woman suffrage, and obligatory primary education. Provision was made for the complete care of children in matters of education, health, and social welfare. This fine document also states that all treaties signed by the nation must provide for the settlement by arbitration or other peaceful means of all disputes with other nations.

When Terra finished his term, he was succeeded, after a fair election, by General Alfredo Baldomir. Aided by his distinguished minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Guani, he steered the ship of state during the early days of the second World War along currents favorable to democracy and friendship with the United States.

Economic Life. Uruguay, which is the smallest of the South American republics, has a population of a little over two millions, one third of which lives in Montevideo, the capital. The rural population is engaged in stock raising and to a lesser extent in agriculture. The people are almost wholly of European descent, and the standards of living are very high. Stock raising has always been the principal industry, and Uruguay is now second only to Argentina in meat exports. Since the first meat-packing plant, or *frigorífico*, was built in 1905, meat exports have increased very rapidly. Wool, too, has become an important article of export trade, and is today the largest single product of commercial export. Only a small proportion of the land is planted in crops.

CATTLE AND SHEEP PER INHABITANT



Each symbol represents 1 animal per inhabitant

Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs

Cereals, flax, and linseed are raised, but flax is the only article that is regularly exported.

International Relations. Uruguay today is to South America much of what Switzerland has been to Europe, the center of international thought. President Baltazar Brum sent to the Fifth Pan-American Conference in 1923 a carefully developed plan for an American League of Nations. Unfortunately this plan did not receive the attention it deserved. This same statesman, while secretary of foreign affairs during the first World War, proposed that no American nation should consider another nation of this continent as a belligerent if it was at war with an extra-continental country in the defense of its sovereignty. That meant that the American countries that were at war with Germany would be allowed to use all American harbors for their battleships and receive other advantages not allowed to belligerents. Uruguay made this same proposal at the opening of the second World War and secured its adoption

by other members of the American group. Montevideo is the home of many international organizations and the meeting place of many conferences. Its citizenship follows international affairs with deep interest. Its delegations to conferences always take an important part in the development of international co-operation.

Uruguay has plenty of problems awaiting solution. But no country is more open to modern thought; none more interested in the average citizen; none more devoted to the principles of democracy and international co-operation. Her history of seventy-five years of constant revolution followed by forty years of social and political advancement shows how effective democracy can be when it sets out seriously to solve economic and social questions as well as political ones.

PARAGUAY

With the exception of its next-door neighbor, Uruguay, Paraguay is the smallest country in South America. It lies in the very heart of the continent.

This may mean that some day it may be as important to the Southern continent as Iowa and Kansas are to the Northern continent. But today, of all the South American republics, it counts the smallest number of inhabitants, the least industrialization, the smallest amount of foreign trade, and the smallest program for educating its people. On the other hand, no country in America has had such a romantic history as Paraguay. As a Spanish colony it was the seat of the remarkable Jesuit empire. Following its independence it was governed by two distinctive characters. The first was Dr. Rodríguez Francia, the absolute ruler aptly called "El Supremo" (the Supreme One), who was Paraguay's first president. The other was the dictator López II, who withstood the combined might of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay for five long years. The good and the bad points of both of these men have occupied the attention of numerous historians, romancers, and poets.

In colonial days the regions now known as Paraguay and Uruguay and the southern section of present-day Bolivia were all parts of the viceroyalty of La Plata. When the movement for independence began in the Río de la Plata, the Paraguayan leaders made an agreement with Buenos Aires to regulate commerce between the two sections, but did not clarify the political relations between the two divisions. For a number of years the status of the new state of Paraguay remained uncertain. The independence of Paraguay, declared in 1811, was never challenged by Spain.

El Supremo. Dr. Gaspar Rodríguez Francia assumed the leadership of

the new government. As a youth he had studied theology in the University of Córdoba. He was almost the only native Paraguayan of his time who had university training. Added to this distinction, he showed a constant interest in the underprivileged. He was one of the very few in this backward land who had any conception of the science of politics. Starting as a member of a local junta (government committee) of five, he soon secured the control of the army. By 1816 he was able to have himself declared dictator for life. He was capable, capricious, and cruel. He gave to himself the position of chief executive, chief judge, chief lawmaker, and made himself head of the church as well. His tyrannical methods won for him the title of "El Supremo." When he appeared on the streets, his loyal subjects were supposed to turn their faces to the walls so that they would not appear too intimate with their ruler. He was as highhanded with foreigners as he was with his own subjects. When the distinguished French scientist, Aimé Bonpland, entered Paraguay to carry on botanical studies, the dictator arrested him, refusing to allow him to leave the country, and held him prisoner in a small Paraguayan village for nine years. A letter from Bolívar asking for the scientist's release was treated with the same disdain as was an invitation from the Liberator to send a delegate to the International Conference at Panama. At one time Bolívar considered making war on Francia to compel him to treat foreigners and neighbors better.

El Supremo regarded the Spaniards in Paraguay as the Tories were re-

garded in the United States following the Revolutionary War. He befriended the Guaraní Indians, although he did little to better their lot permanently. The ecclesiastical authorities, as allies of Spain, were humiliated and deprived of their positions. Under Francia's rule, Paraguay achieved a certain amount of prosperity. Its people were at least able to feel a certain pride in their independence of other nations and in the grandeur of El Supremo, who acknowledged no equal in all South America. Since during Francia's rule the outside world was not allowed to sell goods in Paraguay; the people learned to manufacture their own furniture, leather goods, cloth, and other articles. But so thoroughly was the country cut off from the outside world that little is known about what occurred during the three decades of the dictator's rule. The powerful Francia, who was honored with a notable tribute by Thomas Carlyle, died September 20, 1840.

López I and López II. Francia left no instructions concerning a successor. One soon appeared in the person of a self-made lawyer who ascended to power by much the same methods that Francia had employed. Carlos A. López succeeded in having himself chosen as one of two ruling consuls (chief magistrates). It was not long before he was able to take over complete power, and on March 14, 1844, Congress approved a new constitution and acclaimed López president. For the first time a number of great nations acknowledged Paraguay's independence. In this connection the United States sent to the country a promoter by the name of Edward A.

Hopkins. For some forty years this blundering exploiter continued to promote all kinds of commercial schemes in the Río de la Plata and involved his government in many diplomatic controversies with Paraguay and Argentina. The complicated relations between Paraguay and her neighbors, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, occupied most of the time of Carlos López. He increased foreign trade, established regular steamship service with Buenos Aires, and advanced agriculture. He died on September 10, 1862.

His son, Francisco Solano López, succeeded to the presidency. This young man had been sent to Europe for his education. In Paris he lived a Bohemian life and developed a great admiration for Napoleon III. He was vain, arrogant, devoid of all scruples, and ferociously cruel.

The Paraguayan War. López II began his rule with an ambition to make Paraguay the dominant force in eastern South America. It was not difficult for him to find proof that his neighbors, Brazil and Argentina, had designs on his territory. He decided to develop an overpowering military machine, arguing the justice of this program from patriotic reasons. By 1864 his army was the best trained, and his navy, on the Paraguay River, was the most formidable in South America. Brazil gave López a chance to show his importance when that empire announced a coming military expedition against Uruguay on account of her ill-treatment of Brazilians. López challenged Brazil's action and dispatched an expedition up the Paraguay River to attack the interior province of Matto Grosso. When

Argentina refused to grant the Paraguayan army permission to move across the province of Corrientes in order to attack the southern Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul, López did not hesitate to declare war on Argentina. Uruguay, bordering on all three countries, could not help being drawn into the struggle.

The three nations united in a secret treaty, May 1, 1865, to make war on Paraguay until she should be completely defeated. General Mitre, president of Argentina, was elected commander in chief of the united armies. He promised a short war. A popular ditty ran, "Twenty-four hours in the barracks, three weeks in the field, three months in Asunción." But the war lasted five years. The allies were cursed by jealousies and by disease. López, as a complete dictator, moved his troops quickly with marvelous strategy and was able to depend on the remarkable loyalty of his Indian followers. Not until January, 1869, did the allies occupy Asunción. Even then López refused to surrender. He was finally overtaken by Brazilian soldiers in the tropical jungles of northeastern Paraguay. Fighting to the last, with all support gone, he was run through by the sword of a Brazilian private. The five years of unequal struggle were finally ended.

The Hard Road to Reconstruction. Paraguay was in ruins. Out of a population numbering about half a million at the beginning of the war the census figures of 1871 placed the population at 221,079, of which 28,746 were boys and old men. Paraguay lost some 55,000 square miles of territory to Argentina and Brazil. Not until six years after the death of López did

the last allied soldier leave Paraguay. The allies, as well as Paraguay, were saddled with immense debts. Controversies concerning territory were continued for some time. Two of these were settled by arbitration conducted by President Hayes and by President Cleveland of the United States.

Paraguay slowly began to climb back to normal life. A constitution similar to that of the United States was adopted. But that did not prevent the occurrence of revolution after revolution. The shock of the first World War seemed to awaken the Paraguayan people as it did the rest of South America. Railroad and steamship connections with Argentina were improved; industrialism was encouraged. Foreign colonies were invited to the country. Business relations with the United States were enlarged. By 1930 Paraguay had just about climbed back to the position she had occupied in 1860. Again she could count a million population. Again she could count on promising signs of a prosperous economic life. But war again plunged her people into suffering and despair.

The Chaco War. The boundary dispute with Bolivia concerning the Chaco, a wild and almost uninhabited region of more than 100,000 square miles west of the Paraguay River, had disturbed the two countries ever since they had secured their independence. As the only two countries of South America that do not touch the ocean, they are always striving for an outlet to the sea. When petroleum was discovered in the Chaco, Bolivia began to plan to secure such an outlet through the Chaco region down the



Photo from Keystone View Co.

The leaves of the *yerba mate*, a kind of holly, are much used as a beverage by South Americans. The drink is often called "Paraguayan tea" because of its popularity in that country.

Paraguay River to Buenos Aires. Paraguay naturally resisted this advance. From encounters between advance guards of the two armies the size of the battles grew until war was formally declared in 1932. The Paraguayan army gradually drove across the Chaco until it reached Bolivian territory. After numerous failures by the League of Nations and the Pan-American group to adjust the quarrel, five neighboring countries and the United States secured an armistice in 1935. Paraguay was awarded most of the Chaco. Bolivia, however, was given a port on the Paraguay River. The two countries then signed several

treaties providing for commercial and economic co-operation.

Again Paraguay was left with the evils which follow a long war. She had an oversized army and a military government, an immense debt, and a disorganized economic and cultural life. In 1939 the best of the military leaders, General José Félix Estigarribia, was elected president. A reform program was inaugurated. A few months afterward the president was killed in an airplane accident. He was succeeded through military action by General Higinio Morínigo, who proceeded to rule with an iron hand.

Paraguay broke relations with the

Axis Powers following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Economic Developments. With only 1,000,000 inhabitants, Paraguay is the least populous of the South American republics. It is still an isolated and backward country. Only a small part of its rich territory is under cultivation, and its exports, consisting of meat products, *yerba mate*, cotton, and quebracho extract, amount to less than nine dollars per capita. As a result, the standards of living are low,

especially among the Indians and mestizos, who make up a large proportion of the population.

Recently the United States Government, acting under the lend-lease agreement, sent a number of industrial and public-health engineers to aid the country in its development. The aid thus offered to Paraguay in solving two of her greatest problems, the building up of the industries of the nation and the health of its citizens, brought new hope to the country.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. The Leaders of Uruguay and Paraguay. The following statements deal with events in these two countries in chronological order. Match each statement with the correct name from the list of leaders by writing the letter of the leader in the parentheses in front of the statement.

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| a. Terra | g. Artigas |
| b. Morínigo | h. Estigarribia |
| c. Viera | i. Brum |
| d. Batlle | j. López I |
| e. Francia | k. Guani |
| f. López II | |

Uruguay

- () 1. The leader of Uruguay's independence struggle, sometimes compared to David Crockett.
- () 2. The president who, after studying in Switzerland, started a series of reforms in Uruguay.
- () 3. The president who, in 1923, proposed an American league of nations.
- () 4. The president who, in the depression of the 1930's, dismissed Congress and ruled by decree.
- () 5. The minister of foreign affairs in World War II who favored the democracies.

Paraguay

- () 6. The dictator, called "El Supremo," who isolated Paraguay from other countries.
- () 7. The first president to obtain foreign recognition and increased trade.
- () 8. The dictator who fought against three neighbor countries simultaneously.

- () 9. The hero of the Chaco War who became president but was killed in a plane accident.
- () 10. The president who broke relations with the Axis after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

B. Uruguay's Progressive System. Some of the following statements about the government of Uruguay are opinions and others are statements of fact. In front of the statements of opinion, encircle OD if they are discussed in the chapter, and ON if not discussed. In front of the statements of fact, encircle T if they are true, and F if they are not true.

- T F OD ON 1. José Batlle y Ordóñez started his country on a period of better government.
- T F OD ON 2. He used his newspaper, *El Día*, to explain his ideas to the public.
- T F OD ON 3. He went to Switzerland to study their government.
- T F OD ON 4. He reached two conclusions: first, that a group executive is better than a single individual; and second, that government should promote the welfare of the people.
- T F OD ON 5. In Uruguay, these ideas were accepted by everyone.
- T F OD ON 6. Batlle should get much of the credit for the new constitution of 1919.
- T F OD ON 7. One unusual feature of it was an elected executive council of nine men.
- T F OD ON 8. One probable reason for Batlle's success was that he inspired and led an able group of young men.
- T F OD ON 9. In accordance with Batlle's ideas, the government established corporations for meat-packing, banking, and alcohol.
- T F OD ON 10. Such corporations are bad because they are socialistic.
- T F OD ON 11. These corporations are good because they serve the interests of the nation.
- T F OD ON 12. Uruguay adopted a system of social security some twenty years before the United States did.
- T F OD ON 13. The depression of the 1930's caused Uruguay to end the government corporations.
- T F OD ON 14. The United States system of private enterprise is better than the Uruguayan system of government ownership.
- T F OD ON 15. In both World Wars, Uruguay has allowed the American nations involved to continue to be treated as non-belligerents.
- T F OD ON 16. Uruguay has more cattle and sheep per capita than Argentina or the United States.

C. Paraguay's Problems. In the following statements about Paraguay, the word in *italics* is the KEY word. If the statement is true, write the letter T in the blank. If it is *not* true, write in the blank the word which should be substituted for the key word to make the statement true.

- _____ 1. Paraguay is the smallest country of South America in *popu-
lation*.
- _____ 2. Like *Uruguay*, it was governed from Buenos Aires in colonial times.
- _____ 3. During part of the colonial period, it was ruled by the *Fran-
ciscan* order.
- _____ 4. President *López I* attempted to shut Paraguay off from the world, and even locked up a French scientist who came in.
- _____ 5. *Francia* was called "El Supremo" because of his absolute power.
- _____ 6. President *López II* fought against Argentina, Brazil and Uru-
guay all at once and was defeated after five years.
- _____ 7. This war reduced Paraguay's population by about 10 per cent.
- _____ 8. Two boundary disputes growing out of the war were arbitrated
by United States Presidents *Hayes* and *Cleveland*, respectively.
- _____ 9. The Chaco War was partly caused by Bolivia's desire for a port
on the *Paraguay* River to facilitate her export of oil.
- _____ 10. At the end of the Chaco War, Paraguay was *more* prosperous
than when she went in.
- _____ 11. *Argentina* has sent engineers and doctors to Paraguay to help
develop her wealth and health.
- _____ 12. Paraguay has very small exports, only about *nine* dollars per
capita annually.

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. Describe Batlle's career and his contributions to the life of Uruguay.
2. Explain the system of public corporations in Uruguay, its merits and faults. Can you point to any such corporations in the United States?
3. Comment in detail on this statement: "Wars have been Paraguay's greatest handicap."

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

- Carr, Katherine, *South American Primer*. Ch. 3 (Argentina and Uruguay);
Ch. 4 (Bolivia and Paraguay).
Gunther, John, *Inside Latin America*. Ch. 18 (Paraguay); Ch. 22 (Uru-
guay).
Herring, Hubert, *Good Neighbors*. Part IV, Ch. 1 (Uruguay); Ch. 2
(Paraguay and Bolivia).

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Inman, Samuel Guy, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*. Ch. 19 (Uruguay).

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Ch. 13 (López II).

Williams, Mary W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ch. 27 (Paraguay) ; Ch. 28 (Uruguay).

IV. CHILE, BOLIVIA, AND PERU

Having studied life in the Portuguese republic of Brazil and the three Spanish republics of the Plata region, we are ready to cross the Andes and meet the people of the West. They differ considerably from those of the Atlantic Coast—just as one finds the people of California differing from those in New York. During colonial days Peru dominated the whole of the west coast. After independence Chile took the lead. Bolivia, bordering on both of these republics, has had secret and open alliances from time to time with each of the other two. The life of all three countries is closely related, and their history should be considered together.

CHILE

Chile has had the most even history of any Latin-American country. It was settled by a high type of Spaniard who did not engage in the factional fights carried on by Pizarro and his successors in Peru. The Araucanian Indians of Chile were the most virile in South America. They long resisted the Spanish colonists. A mixture of the best Spanish and Indian blood gave the Chileans the basis for a strong race. Chile has been blessed by a number of outstanding citizens who have served well their own land and all America.

The history of the Chilean republic may be divided into four sections. The first division (1811–1833) represents the struggle for independence from Spain and the first efforts to organize the republic. Two important characters dominate this period. General Bernardo O'Higgins, leader in the fight for independence, and Diego Portales, the business organizer of stable government. The second division (1833–1891) represents the period of development under autocratic presidents. Two great men in this half century of growth were President Manuel Montt and President José Manuel Balmaceda. The third period (1891–1920) was marked by the dominance of congress in government. No especially outstanding men appeared. The fourth period began in 1920 with the election of President Arturo Alessandri, continued through a period of great confusion, and ushered in the Popular Front under President Pedro Aguirre Cerda in 1938.

Bernardo O'Higgins. The first step in the revolution in Chile was taken on September 18, 1810. Many patriots assisted in the long fight to oust the Spaniards. The greatest of these was Bernardo O'Higgins. He was the son of a wealthy Irishman who had settled in Santiago. Young Bernardo was sent

to Europe for his education. When he was twenty-one, he visited England and joined the celebrated Francisco Miranda, who headed a secret movement in London to free the Spanish colonies. Here he met Bolívar and San Martín as well as other patriots. On returning to Chile, he became a leader in the revolutionary army and was soon hailed as the first soldier of Chile. After several years of fighting he joined San Martín in Argentina. They worked together to equip the army that made the daring march across the Andes. On arriving in Chile, O'Higgins was permitted by San Martín to lead the charge against the loyalists at Chacabuco (1817). Following that battle O'Higgins was placed at the head of the Chilean government. He sought to strengthen the outlying districts, to encourage international trade, and to suppress banditry. In his efforts to develop public education, he invited a representative of the Lancastrian schools of England to work in Chile. He advocated free libraries, built roads, and increased the water supply. He was accused of dictatorship by those who did not like his reforms. To save further bloodshed he resigned in 1823, and retired to Peru. There he lived surrounded by his friends until his death in 1842. Chile went into mourning for him and brought his remains to Santiago, where a magnificent monument was erected in his honor. With the resignation of O'Higgins the country was thrown into confusion. Order was brought about by the strong will of one of Chile's well-known leaders, Diego Portales. Don Diego was a businessman who had loaned money to the government.

Democracy might be all right for advanced nations like the United States, thought this practical, close-fisted merchant, but Chile was poverty-stricken and illiterate. It needed a strong, centralized government with rulers who would be models of virtue for its citizens to imitate.

Portales at first refused to accept public office himself but used his great power to direct affairs through others. Later, under President Joaquín Prieto (1831-1841), he became minister of war. Portales was jealous of a proposed union between Peru and Bolivia and sent troops to break it up. The war was unpopular. He was murdered by his own mutinous troops in an uprising near Valparaíso on June 6, 1837. This produced a reaction, and the rigid constitution suggested by Portales in 1833 was strengthened. This document established the Catholic Church as the official religion, prohibiting any other, and provided for a highly centralized government. It remained in force until 1925, the longest life of any constitution in a Latin-American country. Under it the conservatives assured themselves continuance in power.

The Rule of the Aristocrats (1831-1891). Few countries in history have had the record of continuous government made by Chile from 1831 to 1891. During the period of 1831-1871 four presidents ruled, each for ten years' time. Other presidents followed in unbroken periods of five years until 1891. General Manuel Bulnes, who defeated the united armies of Peru and Bolivia in 1839 and put an end to the confederation planned by those two countries, was elected president of

Chile in 1841. He developed Valparaíso as a port and encouraged agriculture. William Wheelwright, of the United States, promoted numerous commercial enterprises in Chile at this time. These included the first regular steamship line from Europe to Chile in 1840 and the republic's first railroad in 1851. The minister of education in Bulnes's presidency was Manuel Montt. He encouraged Andrés Bello, the great Venezuelan educator, to organize the University of Chile, which was opened in 1843. Montt also welcomed Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, an exile from Argentina who was later to become president of his country.

Montt served as president of the republic from 1851 to 1861. He continued his interest in education and opened over four hundred new government schools. With the organization of the university and a normal school, Chile became greatly interested in extending secondary education to all the people.

The War of the Pacific (1879-1883). While Chile had been enjoying order and progress, her neighbors Peru and Bolivia had suffered from continuous political upheavals. The rich nitrate region belonging to Bolivia and Peru had been a matter of controversy. The nitrate industry is an important one because of the use of nitrate as a fertilizer. Chilean companies had worked the nitrate fields under certain difficulties. Bolivia and Peru had imposed high taxes. The boundaries between the three countries were not clearly defined, and there were continuous quarrels. In 1873 Peru and Bolivia entered into a secret alliance. As a result Chile considered her

grievances sufficient to declare war against Peru and Bolivia in 1879. Chile's army and navy were well trained. She soon overcame Bolivia, and that country retired from the conflict. The war against Peru lasted much longer. Although the United States attempted to make peace between the belligerents, Chile refused the offer, and her triumphant army occupied the capital city of Lima. The Treaty of Ancón in 1883 acknowledged the victory of Chile and increased the country's territory by more than one third, including two rich nitrate provinces. The Peruvian provinces of Tacna and Arica were to remain under the government of Chile for ten years. A vote by the people (called a plebescite) was then to be taken in order to decide which country would govern them. But the plebescite was never taken. These provinces continued to be a bone of contention between Peru and Chile until in 1929, when, through the mediation of the United States, it was agreed that Tacna should go to Peru and Arica to Chile. The War of the Pacific greatly enriched Chile and made it one of the most powerful of South American republics. Bolivia lost all of her territory on the Pacific and became a landlocked country.

An exceptionally brilliant president, José Manuel Balmaceda, was elected in 1886. With the riches and the imperialistic ideas of his victorious nation he undertook a vast program of public works. He built schools of all kinds throughout the country. He constructed railroads, improved the naval base at Talcahuano, and erected palaces for the better administration of government. He encouraged

immigration, kept up the interest on the foreign debt, and bought new ships. He was the master builder, whose name is connected with many schools, hospitals, and prisons that are used today. He also introduced new ideals into politics. He endeavored to unite all liberals in one party. He worked to insure the independence of the judicial department and the municipal authorities from the dictation of the president and to educate the army along democratic lines.

Civil War (1890-1891). Could Balmaceda, with all his energy and ideals, carry out so many new ideas? Soon the parliament, always especially insistent on its powers, began to rebel. It forced the president to accept ministers that he did not want. He finally refused to obey and began to rule without congress. The inevitable military conflict broke out in 1890. During eight months the fighting was terrific. When the powerful Chilean navy revolted in favor of the congressional party, the president realized that all was lost. A governing junta, or council, was appointed in 1891, and Balmaceda took refuge in the Argentine Embassy in Santiago. He wrote a noble political testament, dressed himself immaculately in formal clothes, lay down on his bed, and, pulling the trigger of his revolver, ended his life. Thus, with Balmaceda's defeat, conservative forces had once more been able to block reform. One of Chile's greatest leaders had gone down in defeat. But he had made a name that Chileans will never forget.

Government Dominated by Congress (1891-1920). With the death of Balmaceda there also passed an era—

the day of the all-powerful executive. Henceforth congress, composed of powerful landowners and vascillating politicians, controlled government. Efficiency was eliminated without giving the masses any more influence in government. Cabinets were upset on the least excuse. Only the phenomenal prosperity of the republic, due largely to the new nitrate industry, kept the political machinery from breaking down. It did not prevent great dissatisfaction among the workers, sanguinary strikes, and much suffering among city and country laborers. Dissatisfaction became strong enough by 1920 to register itself in the election of a reform president, Arturo Alessandri.

Reform, Chaos, and a New Deal. "The Lion of Tarapacá" was the name given to the new president, Arturo Alessandri. As senator from the northern province of Tarapacá he had fought the intrenched aristocrats at Santiago and proposed new labor legislation. Once in the presidency he moved bravely to carry out his promises to labor. But he found opposition heavy and reforms difficult. When in 1924 the senate conservatives, on the one hand, and the army officers, on the other, made a drive on him, he attempted to resign. Recalled, he led in writing a new constitution in 1925. This took the place of the document drawn up by Portales in 1833. The new constitution provided for the separation of church and state, made property subject to the social good, made primary education compulsory, and made the cabinet answerable to the executive and not to congress.

In spite of the progressive measures indicated in the new constitution,

Alessandri found himself surrounded by opposition. Labor demanded quick relief from starvation wages, nationalists demanded the curbing of the big United States business interests, the army demanded a raise in pay, and congress demanded the protection of the privileged class. In October, 1925, the "Lion of Tarapacá" was forced out of office. His minister of war, Colonel Carlos Ibáñez, assumed the presidency on July 21, 1927. He ruled with an iron hand until he was forced to resign and seek refuge in Argentina, July 26, 1931.

Ibáñez was one of the Latin-American dictators who was caught in the Wall Street crash of 1929. In the 1920's bankers in the United States turned their attention to making loans to Latin-American governments. Dictators like Ibáñez in Chile, Leguía in Peru, and Siles in Bolivia borrowed immense sums and pledged as security much of the natural wealth. With this money they made certain public improvements, beautified their capitals, and enriched their friends. When the Wall Street crash prevented their borrowing more money, their friends and their armies deserted them, and they were expelled from office. Ibáñez was the greatest of these borrowers. The investments of the United States in Chile, which amounted to \$15,000,000 in 1915, had grown to \$659,000,000 in 1929. However, Dictator Ibáñez did attempt to carry through some of the social reforms begun by Alessandri. He established a large number of primary schools and advanced social security. A vast program of public works was put under way to relieve unemploy-

ment. But the economic situation steadily became worse. Financial ruin brought on rioting and revolutionary plots everywhere. The university students first, then the teachers and lawyers, then the doctors, and finally the labor unions went on strike.

During the next year chaos reigned, with a change in government occurring every few weeks. But a strong country like Chile would not stand such disorder. The old "Lion of Tarapacá" was brought back from his exile in Paris and again took the presidential seat, in December, 1932. Alessandri restored order and ruled with a stronger hand than in his first administration.

The "Popular Front." The liberal elements decided that they must combine if they were to secure the needed social reforms. For the first time practically all of the numerous small liberal groups came together in the "Popular Front." They nominated and elected an old leader of the radical party, a former collaborator of Alessandri, Don Pedro Aguirre Cerda. His program was somewhat similar to the New Deal in the United States. A former teacher, Don Pedro had a motto that "to govern is to educate." Before the new president could start his program, a terrific earthquake destroyed much of the south-central part of the country, killing some 50,000 people. Don Pedro threw himself into the reconstruction work and then started to aid the poor. He ordered the pawnshops to return to their owners the sewing machines which had been pawned in order to buy necessities. He reduced the price of bread. He increased the amount of free health service to the people. He

opened the country to 5,000 refugees from Republican Spain, who had been expelled by Dictator Francisco Franco. Numerous progressive social measures were inaugurated. The conservative landed aristocracy and the Nazi sympathizers held a majority in the senate and vigorously opposed any reforms. Overcome by his many burdens, President Aguirre Cerda died on November 25, 1941.

Special elections were held in March, 1942. Within a month Juan Antonio Ríos was inaugurated as the new chief executive. Belonging to the same radical party as Aguirre Cerda, he promised to carry forward the social program of the Popular Front.

International Relations. Chile has had many problems with other nations. These have included two wars with Peru, a war with Bolivia, a war with Spain, and serious disputes with Argentina and the United States. Her national motto is, "By reason or by force." She has maintained the strongest army and navy on the west coast of South America and has not hesitated to assert her dominance in that area.

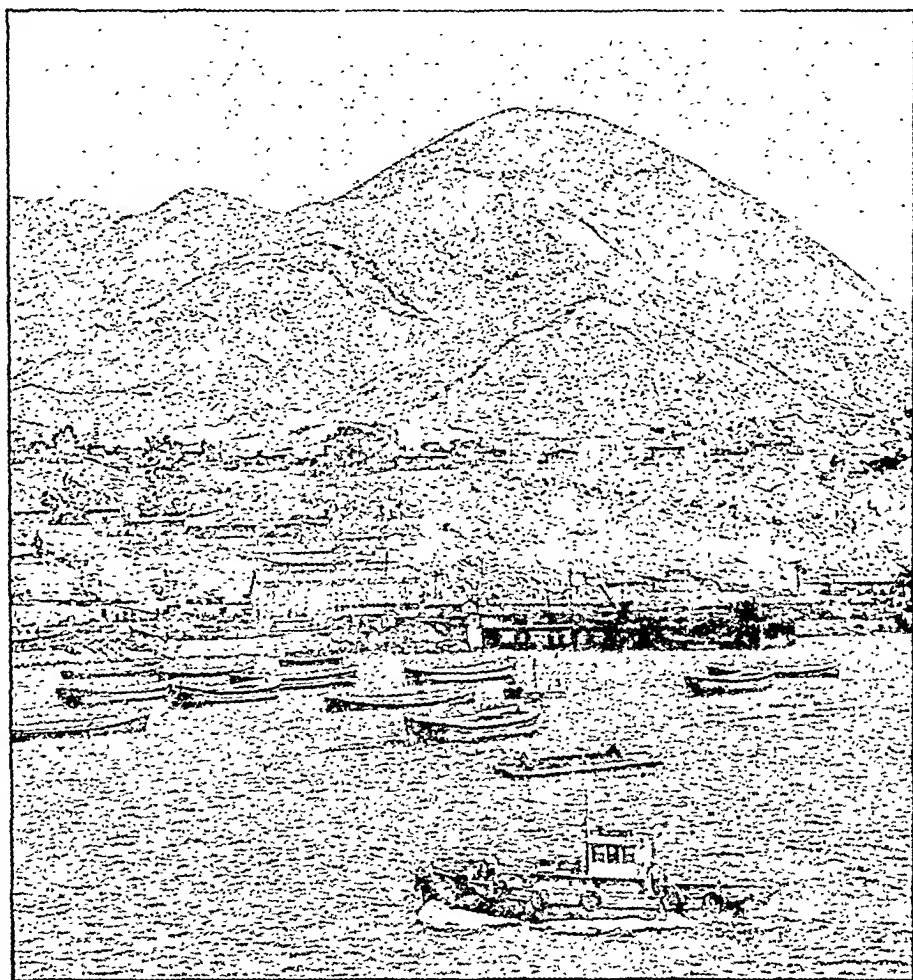
Relations with her neighbor Peru were disturbed immediately following independence. For many years the ports of Valparaíso and Callao were great rivals. Political exiles from Peru used Chile as a base for organizing revolutions against their political opponents. Chilean exiles, on the other hand, stirred up the same kind of trouble in Peru. When President Santa Cruz of Bolivia initiated a federation with Peru, many rival elements were set against each other. The strong man of Chile, Portales, was easily persuaded by a Peruvian exile

to send an army to Peru to attack the federation forces. Rosas of Argentina agreed with Portales that the federation of Bolivia and Peru would make too strong a neighbor, and sent troops against Bolivia. Thus was prevented a union which might not only have saved these four countries from many battles but also would have been beneficial to all South America.

The next war was with the mother country, Spain. In this conflict Chile appeared as the defender of Peru. Spain sent a fleet to Peru in 1864, demanded the payment of doubtful financial claims of her citizens, and seized the Chinca Islands off the coast of Peru. Chile protested the action. Spain retaliated by sending her fleet to Valparaíso to bombard that unfortified city, killing many people and destroying \$10,000,000 worth of property.

From the beginning of her independence Chile has had constant quarrels with Bolivia. The latter country possessed the rich nitrate province of Antofagasta bordering on the Pacific. Peru held Tarapacá, the province just north, which is also rich in nitrate. The two countries, less organized than Chile, made a secret alliance to protect themselves from the aggressive acts of the Chilean nitrate companies backed by Chilean arms. When Bolivia imposed higher taxes on the Chilean companies, Chile occupied Antofagasta and started the War of the Pacific. As we have already learned, the war ended in 1883 with Chile completely victorious.

Chile has had several serious quarrels with the United States. This country made various efforts to intervene in the War of the Pacific and to

*Photo by James Sawders*

The harbor of Villarica, Chile, is the shipping port for the copper mines of this district. Copper is the leading commercial export of Chile.

persuade Chile not to demand additional territory. Such intervention was resented by Chile. Unwise actions by the United States minister in Chile also increased the tension between the two countries. In 1891, when ill feeling was at its height, the U.S.S. *Baltimore* unwisely chose to put in at the port of Valparaíso. A landing party had a fight with Chileans in one of the lower class districts of the

city. Two American sailors were killed. This incident along with others almost led to war between the two countries. Chile finally paid an indemnity of \$75,000 to the families of the slain sailors, but considerable bitterness between the two countries remained. These ill feelings were augmented by the attitude of North American business enterprises in Chile. During the administration

of President Taft, the United States Government brought so much pressure for the repayment of a loan made by the wealthy Alsop family that a certain cartoon became very popular. It represented a big, elegantly dressed man looking down at a poor boy and saying, "My boy, get rich; honestly if you can; but anyway, get rich."

Boundary questions have caused many dissensions between Chile and Argentina. The famous statue, the Christ of the Andes, commemorates the settlement of the principal boundary question. The boundary line in Patagonia was finally defined by arbitration in 1902. Tariffs have also caused disputes with neighboring republics.

Chile has sent delegates to all Pan-American conferences. She has been a faithful member of the League of Nations and the International Labor Office. The Chilean Commission on Intellectual Exchange has led in inter-American cultural activities. While Chile is friendly toward Europe; she is thoroughly American.

Economic and Social Development. Sometimes called "the shoestring republic," Chile stretches for 2,600 miles from the subtropics to the subarctic tip of South America. At no place is the country more than 221 miles wide. The population of Chile is centered in one region, a narrow strip of land between high mountains and the sea. It is a mestizo country, of which only 5 per cent are pure-blooded Indians; 20 to 30 per cent are of white ancestry. The remainder is a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood. In spite of the relatively high density of population in the Central Valley region, large estates have persisted to the present time. For many

years the story of nitrates was the story of Chile. When the nitrate market was good, Chile was prosperous. After the development of chemical nitrates, causing a slump in the market, Chile turned to the development of other industries. Copper mining and coal mining are today major sources of wealth. Agriculture is also an important industry. More than 75 per cent of Chile's people are literate. Chile has long been an international leader in social legislation.

BOLIVIA

Bolivia, like Paraguay, is a land without a seacoast. Like Ecuador, it lies between two stronger countries and has never developed a vigorous independent life. Bolivia sprang full born from the brain of the great Bolívar. Part of its territory was taken from Peru, and part from Argentina. By decree the Liberator formed the new republic, gave it a model constitution, and became its inspiration. When pressing duties called him back to Peru and Colombia, he bestowed the presidency on his favorite general, Antonio J. Sucre, in 1826. Sucre was soon succeeded by General Andrés Santa Cruz.

Santa Cruz and Federation. For twenty years Santa Cruz, a great *caudillo*, a leader after the style of Napoleon, ruled the new so-called republic. To carry out his ambition to unite Bolivia and Peru, he organized masonic lodges in both countries. He was a crafty organizer of military and civil forces. His ambitious plans included the union of three states, Northern Peru, Southern Peru, and Bolivia, each with its own capital and president, and all under a ruler

called the "new Inca." It is easily understood why Chile and Argentina objected to the development of such a strong neighbor and sent Santa Cruz to Paris as an exile. He became a friend of Napoleon III and died in the French capital in 1865.

Period of Anarchy (1839-1880). No other Bolivian president equaled Santa Cruz in reputation or in the extensive plans which he devised. His immediate successor, Don José Ballivián, was a cultured gentleman. By the new constitution of 1839, he was given large powers and started out to establish a well-organized government. But the lack of tradition, the small number of educated people, and the enormous Indian population with no preparation for government brought failure. The nation started on its long career of revolutions. There was no educated aristocracy strong enough to hold in check the petty military chiefs that one after another seized the government.

In the 1850's General Belzu, an ignorant tyrant, became disgusted with the protests of the diplomats of foreign countries whose citizens were cruelly treated. He abused the diplomats and finally bundled them up and expelled them from the country. As a result the Foreign Office of Great Britain erased Bolivia from the map, and for many years that country did not appear in British documents. The partition of Bolivia was seriously discussed in Peru and Chile.

The climax of this violent and tragic period of Bolivia's history was reached in the dictatorship of Mariano Melgarejo, who ruled from 1864 to 1871. He was the Nero of Bolivia, capable of every cruelty suggested by

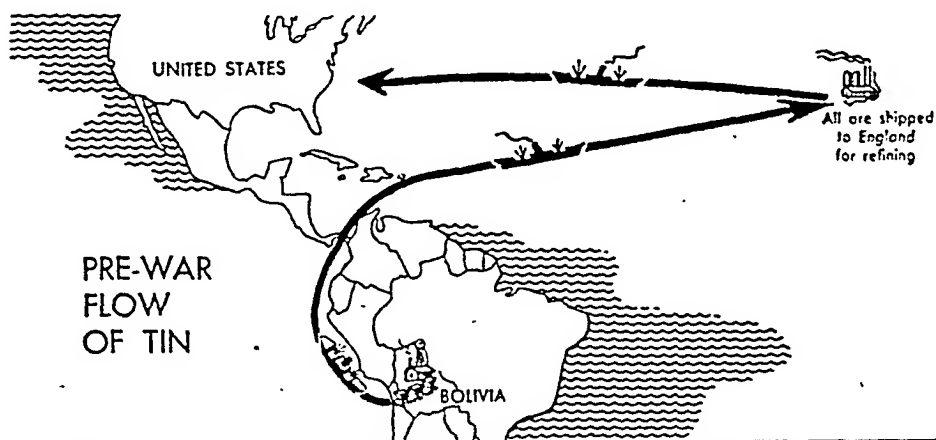
a demented imagination. He sold the communal lands belonging to the Indians and made degrading boundary treaties with Chile and Brazil. In his book, *Sick People*, the Bolivian historian, Alcides Argüedas, sums up the period of anarchy in the statement that "from 1825 to 1898 there were more than sixty revolutions, a series of international wars, and six presidents were assassinated."

War with Chile. It is no wonder that the well-trained Chilean army was able to conquer Bolivia in the first few months of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). As a result the Bolivians lost their rich nitrate province Tarapacá, and their approach to the sea. This seemed to sober the Bolivians. In 1880 they deposed President Daza, who had foolishly followed Peruvian advice and become involved in war with the powerful Chileans. General Narcisco Campero succeeded Daza, introduced a new constitution in 1880, and made other efforts to bring order out of chaos. He signed a truce with Chile and re-opened commercial relations with that country. A permanent peace settlement between the two countries was attempted by President Arce in 1901. He asked Argentina to plead Bolivia's cause, since Argentina and Chile were at odds over their boundaries. In 1895 Chile agreed, under pressure, to grant Bolivia a strip of land on the Pacific. This treaty was not carried out. In 1904 the final settlement was effected, including the following: Chile agreed to build a railroad from the Pacific port of Arica to La Paz, the mountain capital of Bolivia, and to build port facilities for Bolivia at Arica. These were to become the property of Bo-

livia fifteen years after their completion. Chile assumed the claims of her nationals against Bolivia and paid £300,000 sterling to Bolivia. The railroad was completed in 1912 and today forms Bolivia's most important connection with the Pacific.

The Chaco War (1932-1938). From the day that Bolivia signed away her rights to all territory on the Pacific, she hoped to get it back. When, in 1929, Chile and Peru settled the Tacna and Arica dispute by each taking one

cessor, Hernando Siles, borrowed large sums of money from United States and British firms for armaments. General Kundt assured the Bolivians that they could cross the swamps of the Chaco, defeat the Paraguayan army, and capture Asunción in a few weeks. But the Aymará Indian soldiers, coming from the high altitudes of Bolivia, were no match for the Paraguayan recruits, who were accustomed to the heat and the marshes of the Chaco. When General Kundt's plans



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of the provinces, Bolivia was once again left out in the cold. It was then that she definitely decided to force her way through the Chaco, secure the west bank of the Paraguay River, and send her trade down that river to Buenos Aires and the Atlantic.

Following the settlement with Chile the habit of revolution had continued in Bolivia. The army was turned over to a German military mission to prepare it for the day when it would strike for an ocean port. The last and most important of the German officers was General Hans Kundt. While he drilled the army in the 1920's, President Bautista Saavedra and his suc-

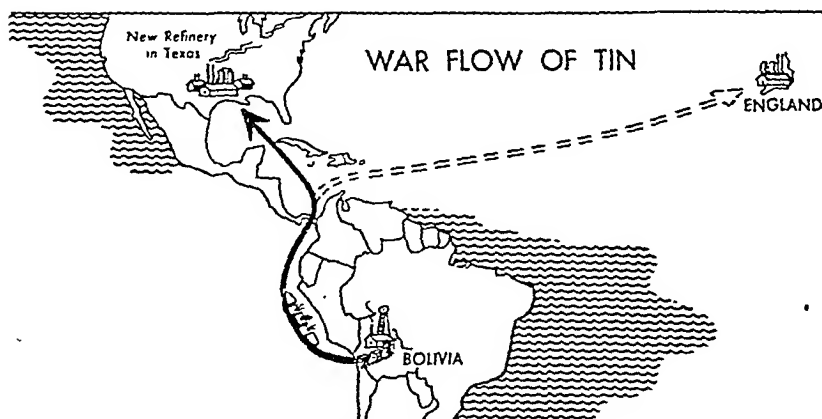
cessor, Hernando Siles, borrowed large sums of money from United States and British firms for armaments. General Kundt assured the Bolivians that they could cross the swamps of the Chaco, defeat the Paraguayan army, and capture Asunción in a few weeks.

Efforts toward Reconstruction. The Chaco War was another tragedy for Bolivia. Demobilized soldiers and students formed a new radical party. The chief of the general staff, Colonel David Toro, became president and announced a socialistic regime. In 1937 he was overthrown by conservative mining and banking interests. His successor was the brilliant Army officer, General German Busch. Busch, who had strong Nazi leanings, announced a totalitarian regime. He was soon overwhelmed with difficulties and died mysteriously of a shot,

probably self-inflicted. General Enrique Peñaranda was elected president in 1940. He returned the government to a more conservative order, expelled the plotting German minister in 1941, paid the Standard Oil Company for its confiscated property, and entered completely into the Pan-American program of continental defense.

The Peñaranda government soon ran into difficulties. It was accused of favoring the owners of the tin

ing against the United States and the Peñaranda government was fanned by the very efficient fifth column of the Nazis, who used the arguments of the democratic forces in favor of better labor laws to bring the downfall of the Peñaranda administration. Although that government had declared war against Germany and had the full support of the United States and Great Britain, it suffered a surprise attack on the early morning of December 19, 1943. General Peñaranda



Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs

mines and of shooting recklessly into a group of several hundred Indian miners, who were striking for better working conditions. At the same time the ambassador of the United States in La Paz was charged with exerting his influence in favor of the tin magnates. To calm the animated discussions both in Bolivia and in the United States, both governments agreed that a commission of labor experts from the United States should investigate the situation of the mine workers. Conditions were found to be of the worst, and suggestions were made for their improvement. Feel-

was exiled to Chile. Víctor Paz Estenssoro, a young, radical professor of economics (born in 1907, once employed by a tin mining company, and later a congressman), was placed at the head of the government. Nazi elements in the new cabinet, along with the quick recognition of the new regime by Argentina, caused the United States and other American republics to delay recognizing the new administration.

Social and Economic Development. Bolivia is an inland state, one third of which is mountainous and two thirds lowland. More than half of the popu-

lation is pure Indian. Only 8 per cent are pure white. Most of the Bolivians are subsistence farmers or shepherds. The standards of living of the masses are low, little having been done thus far for their improvement. The mineral wealth of Bolivia is notable. Tin, silver, lead, zinc, gold, antimony, and copper are all major commercial products of export. However, lack of capital, labor, and transportation facilities have hampered the free development of Bolivia's rich mining regions. Rubber, cacao, and coffee are also exported.

Bolivia's most important national product is tin. In 1941 an arrangement was made with the United States to purchase most of that metal. This country also aided in financing a railroad from Santa Cruz, Bolivia, across the continent to Brazil and to the Atlantic Ocean at Santos.

PERU

Peru has a glorious past. To Lima, the "City of the Kings," all South America bowed in colonial days. This colonial glory has made it difficult for Peru to practice the principles of a republic. The traditional dominance of a few aristocratic families combined with the army has been one drawback. Another has been the 3,000,000 Indians who live in their primitive conditions and know nothing of modern democracy. The country has also had continuous quarrels with its neighbors, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia.

When the great Argentine, San Martín, resigned his command in Lima, a number of contestants for leadership appeared. Bolívar accepted the invitation to start off the

new republic under good auspices. The Liberator himself failed to unite Peru and Bolivia with the three northern countries where he was already president. A few years later another leader with ideas of federation appeared. This was General Andrés Santa Cruz. He limited his efforts to unifying Peru and Bolivia. As we have seen, Santa Cruz was soon deposed by armies from Chile and Argentina, who feared the federation.

The Rule of Castilla. The next strong man to undertake the job of starting his country on the road to order was Ramón Castilla. His rule from 1844 to 1851 was characterized by economic prosperity. He was one of the strong-armed rulers of the day. Though he had little education, he had great ability. He increased the country's nitrate and guano business, abolished slavery, and freed the Indian from unjust taxes. The rule of his successor was characterized by corruption and extravagance. In 1855 a revolution restored Castilla to power as a dictator. His second administration also was one of prosperity for the nation. However, Peru found herself surrounded by enemies at home and abroad who coveted the control of her riches. She was soon facing two wars.

War with Spain. In 1864 a war broke out with Spain. The mother country, who had not yet recognized Peru's independence, sent a fleet to collect damages suffered by Spanish citizens during the many revolutions in Peru. At first the war was fought by diplomats. The old arguments were used, as they have been so often when a strong country desires to pick a quarrel with a weak one: "You have

abused my citizens; you must pay them damages." When Peru refused to pay, Spain reinforced her navy and attacked both Peru and Peru's ally, Chile. This was a serious threat to South America. In December, 1865, Chile and Peru signed a treaty of alliance against Spain. Later both Ecuador and Bolivia joined in this alliance. The war was short and indecisive. The allies could do little when the defenseless port of Valparaíso was bombarded in 1866. However, an attack on the recently fortified Callao was repulsed on May 20. The war became an international scandal, and Spain called her fleet home. In 1871 a truce was arranged under the friendly auspices of the United States, and in 1879 a treaty of peace was signed.

The War of the Pacific. As we have already learned, Peru's war against Chile had more serious results. After Chile had defeated Bolivia, her victorious troops occupied Lima from 1881 to 1883. The invaders stripped the National Library of its books, uprooted lamp posts, and even sent the city's menagerie to Santiago. Peru not only lost her valuable nitrate fields, but her government also was thoroughly disorganized. The treasury was empty, and many a private fortune had disappeared. Hungry foreign creditors made exorbitant demands. For the next forty years Peru was plagued by struggles between rival leaders, some with reform programs, some with only personal ambitions.

The Rule of Leguía. In 1908 there appeared on the scene an excitable little man with an iron will by the name of Augusto B. Leguía. He held

the presidency for four years and then was exiled. During his exile he lived both in England and in the United States, where he sold life insurance and mixed with the wizards of high finance. When he returned to Peru in 1919, he won the election against the opposition of the government's own candidate. His popularity was so great, and his military and police force so extremely efficient, that for the next eleven years he ruled with a high and mighty hand. North American bankers loaned him the money. North American contractors paved the streets, built palaces, country clubs, and race tracks for him and his friends. Lima was transformed into a beautiful, modern city. According to certain foreign businessmen Leguía, like Porfirio Díaz of Mexico, was one of the greatest of modern rulers. When some of Leguía's friends proposed to present him with a residence where he could live on retiring from the presidency, he said that it would have to be a mausoleum! It seemed that he expected to remain the ruler of his country for life.

Opponents of Leguía were either jailed or exiled. The progressive elements of the country were scattered over America and Europe. They used the time in educating themselves and in preparing plans for the overthrow of Leguía. One of these exiles was a student in the University of San Marcos, Raúl Haya de la Torre. He went first to Mexico, where for two years he studied the principles of the revolution as they operated there. He then accepted an invitation from the Soviet Union to study Communism in that country. His six

months in Russia taught him much about political organization but convinced him that Communism was not adapted to conditions in Peru. He spent some time studying in Oxford University and in Germany, after which he visited the United States. He and other young revolutionaries formed a party which they called *Apra*, the "American Popular Revolutionary Alliance." Branches were organized in several Latin-American republics. It proposed a reform program which included anti-imperialism, socialization of natural resources, improvement of the condition of the the Indians, and modernized education.

Cerro and the Revolution of 1930. When the crash in Wall Street came, Leguía could borrow no more money. Like Ibáñez in Chile, Siles in Bolivia, and many another dictator, he found that no money meant no friends. He was taken from the presidential palace to the penitentiary when an army colonel, Luis Sánchez Cerro, led a revolution and became president in 1930. Haya de la Torre and other exiles returned to Peru. But, from 1930 to 1944, the *Apra* leader and many of its members were in prison more often than they were out. Even so, this party, begun by a few idealistic university students, has grown to number 600,000 with membership in all classes of society and able to exert pressure on the conservative government.

Recent Events. When Sánchez Cerro was assassinated on April 30, 1933, by a member of the *Apra* organization, General Oscar Benavides became president. He ruled for the most part without a congress, or other re-

straining influences, until 1940. A revival of business enabled him to initiate a program of public improvements, especially the building of roads. For the first time it became possible to go by automobile from Lima, over the high Andean divide of 16,000 feet, to the headwaters of the Amazon near Iquitos.

Presidential elections were held in 1939. The *Apristas*, however, were not allowed to have a candidate on the ground that the *Apra* organization was international rather than representative of any Peruvian party. Dr. Manuel Prado, a professor of San Marcos, was elected. But he received only 262,000 votes and his opponent, 76,000, in a country that has more than 7,000,000 population. As an enlightened conservative, President Prado relaxed the persecution of radical opponents and enlarged the educational program. In 1942 he demonstrated his friendship to the United States by a visit to this country.

Economic and Social Development. Peru is a rich country. Besides its enormous mineral resources, its many valleys and its coastal regions have great agricultural possibilities. It is growing in population. Its commercial life is being developed by improved transportation facilities. It has finished its part of the Pan-American Highway. Politically, the country still holds to the old colonial spirit, where the few rule the many. The Indian population, more than half of the total, still awaits a program that will abolish economic slavery and incorporate the people into a democracy participated in by all classes. The population of Peru is estimated at a little over 7,000,000, of which

only about 10 per cent are pure whites. The other 90 per cent, mostly Indians and mestizos, live in small communities scattered throughout the country. Agriculture is the basic industry of Peru, for although agricultural and pastoral products comprise only about 40 per cent of the value of the total exports, it is estimated that 85 per cent of the population is dependent, directly or indirectly, upon agriculture and stock raising. Minerals rank second to agriculture, with petroleum, copper, gold, silver, and lead as major products of export. Manufacturing is still in its early stages in Peru, ranking far behind agriculture and mining. Education is free and compulsory for children between the ages of seven and fourteen. Professional training is provided by the University of San Marcos.

The history of the republics dominated by the Andes Mountains has shown us how much their progress has been disturbed by disputes over boundaries. For three centuries all the west coast of South America was intimately related through Spanish colonial government. Bolívar and San Martín united them in their

struggle for independence. But the first hundred years of their life as republics was marked by frequent wars among themselves. If recent settlements of boundaries are made permanent, that advantage alone offers promise of new life for these republics of the Andes.

One of the most happy recent events on the west coast was the settlement of the Tacna-Arica question in 1929. Since that time the century-old strife between Peru and Chile has largely disappeared. There are still many opportunities for rivalries and jealousies between the two countries that can only be adjusted by wise statesmanship in both. Peru settled her boundary question with Ecuador in 1942. After mobilizing for war over the Leticia boundary in the upper Amazon region in 1933, Peru also arbitrated that question with Colombia. Colombia and Venezuela settled their long-standing dispute about national limits at a meeting of the presidents of the two nations in 1937. Only Bolivia remains dissatisfied because she has not had returned to her any part of her seacoast. If inter-American relations continue to improve, this act of injustice may be rectified.

TEST YOURSELF

A. Leading Figures of Chile, Bolivia, and Peru. Match the following leaders with the statements about them by writing before each statement the letter of the person to whom it refers. As far as possible, the leaders are in chronological order.

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|-------------|
| a. Bulnes | h. Haya de la Torre | o. Siles |
| b. Estenssoro | i. Castilla | p. Ibáñez |
| c. Benavides | j. Alessandri | q. Busch |
| d. Santa Cruz | k. San Martín | r. Portales |
| e. O'Higgins | l. Aguirre Cerda | s. Montt |
| f. Balmaceda | m. Prado | t. Kundt |
| g. Peñaranda | n. Leguía | |

Chile

- () 1. Independence leader and first president.
- () 2. Argentine general who led the independence army in Chile.
- () 3. Conservative president who fought the alliance of Bolivia and Peru.
- () 4. A president who invited Andrés Bello to found the University of Santiago and who opened 400 government schools.
- () 5. Liberal president who built roads and schools, but was ousted by Congress in a civil war.
- () 6. Reform president who made a new constitution, separating Church and state.
- () 7. President who borrowed heavily in the United States to build schools and other public works.
- () 8. The first Popular Front president, who helped the victims of a serious earthquake.

Bolivia

- () 9. The president who tried to unite Bolivia and Peru, but was prevented by Chile and Argentina.
- () 10. The president who borrowed in the United States to prepare for the Chaco War.
- () 11. The German general who prepared the army for the Chaco War.
- () 12. The president who wished to start a Nazi system in Bolivia but died mysteriously before he had completed his plans.
- () 13. The president who made the tin agreement with the United States and declared war on Germany.

Peru

- () 14. The president who developed the wealth of nitrate and guano fields.
- () 15. The dictator who borrowed heavily in the United States to modernize Lima, but was ousted during the depression.
- () 16. The exile who visited Europe and the United States, then founded the *Apra* party.
- () 17. The president who excluded *Apra* from the 1939 elections.
- () 18. The president who won the 1939 elections and visited the United States in 1942.

B. Important Developments in Chile, Bolivia, and Peru. Each of the following statements is accompanied by a group of completions some of which are correct. Encircle the letter of each correct completion.

1. Bernardo O'Higgins, the Chilean leader,
 - a. Invited a Lancastrian teacher from England to help start schools.
 - b. Ruled that only the Catholic religion could be practiced in Chile.
 - c. Built roads and encouraged foreign trade.
 - d. Encouraged the building of libraries.
2. In the War of the Pacific:
 - a. One cause was that Chilean nitrate companies were being heavily taxed in Bolivia and Peru.
 - b. A second cause was the secret alliance of Bolivia and Peru against Chile.
 - c. As a result of her victory, Chile took the nitrate areas away from both Bolivia and Peru.
 - d. The Chilean army occupied Lima and even sent the menagerie back to Santiago.
 - e. In 1904, Chile agreed to compensate Bolivia by building a railway to the port of Arica as an outlet for Bolivia.
 - f. The boundary between Peru and Chile was finally settled by United States mediation in 1929.
3. The liberal Chilean president, Balmaceda,
 - a. Opposed immigration.
 - b. Built such public works as schools and railways.
 - c. When the conservative Congress started a civil war, he was forced to resign.
 - d. He wrote his political testament, dressed himself formally, and took his own life.
4. Chilean president Alessandri was noted for these developments
 - a. He prepared a new liberal constitution to replace that of Portales (1833).
 - b. It provided for separation of Church and State.
 - c. It provided, also, for compulsory primary education.
 - d. He was forced to resign by the conflicting social classes, but seven years later he was recalled to be president again.
5. In her international relations Chile
 - a. Helped defend Peru against Spain's attempt to collect debts by the use of her navy.
 - b. Arbitrated her dispute with Bolivia over the nitrate fields.
 - c. Paid indemnities to the families of the two United States sailors who were killed in Valparaíso.
 - d. Fought against Argentina over their boundary.
6. In the period after 1930, Bolivia
 - a. Borrowed money for armaments in the United States and hired a German military staff.

BACKGROUND OF A CONTINENT

- b. Fought the Chaco War to find a route to the sea to take the place of the province lost to Chile in 1883.
 - c. Defeated Paraguay easily in a short time.
 - d. Confiscated the property of the Standard Oil Company and paid for it.
 - e. Declared war against Germany and made a tin agreement with the United States.
 - f. Experienced a revolt in 1943, inspired by the United States and led by General Peñaranda.
7. Peru and Bolivia are alike in that both
- a. Have a small proportion of white inhabitants.
 - b. Have great mineral wealth, mostly foreign-owned and exported.
 - c. Have serious poverty among their Indian populations.
 - d. Lack their own outlets to the sea.
8. Twentieth-century Peruvian politics have included the following developments
- a. President Leguía borrowed heavily in the United States in order to build public works.
 - b. Haya de la Torre organized the *Apra* to try to improve the national life.
 - c. *Apra* is in favor of foreign ownership of the nation's business.
 - d. *Apra's* 600,000 members might have won the election of 1939 if their candidate had not been disqualified.
 - e. President Cerro was assassinated by an *Apra* member because he persecuted the party.

C. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. In Chilean history the liberal cause has been advanced by Balmaceda, Alessandri and Aguirre Cerda. Compare the policies and success of these three presidents.
2. "The War of the Pacific helped to cause the Chaco War and the Tacna-Arica dispute." Explain the meaning of this statement.
3. Explain the policies of Haya de la Torre and the *Apra* movement. Does *Apra* have enough votes to win an election in Peru?
4. What policy did these three men have in common: Ibáñez, Siles and Leguía? What was the effect of this policy?

D. Suggestions for Extra Reading

- Carr, Katherine, *South American Primer*. Ch. 4 (Bolivia and Paraguay); Ch. 6 (Chile); Ch. 7 (Peru and Ecuador).
- Gunther, John, *Inside Latin America*. Ch. 14 (Peru); Ch. 15 (Bolivia); Ch. 16, 17 (Chile).
- Herring, Hubert, *Good Neighbors*. Part III (Chile); Part IV, Ch. 2 (Paraguay and Bolivia); pp. 261-9 (Peru).
- Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Ch. 3 (Valdivia); Ch. 20 (Tello).
- Williams, Mary W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ch. 24 (Bolivia); Ch. 25 (Peru); Ch. 26 (Chile).

V. COLOMBIA, ECUADOR, AND VENEZUELA

We have now come to the third group of South American republics. First, there was Argentina, flanked by Uruguay and Paraguay. Crossing the Andes we found Chile, joined by Bolivia and Peru. Coming north, we meet Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela. We remember that Simón Bolívar actually united this trio under one government, and called it Great Colombia. When the personality of the Liberator no longer dominated the scene, this union fell apart. Although these three countries are closely interrelated, each has its own separate history. We shall consider Colombia first, since its capital, Bogotá, was at one time the capital of all three sections.

COLOMBIA

Both a Pacific and an Atlantic country, Colombia is third largest in population of the South American republics and has more people (8,700,000) than its two neighboring countries combined.

Colombia has had five names since it secured its independence from Spain. In the days of Bolívar, when it was united with Venezuela and Ecuador, it was called Great Colombia. When the other two republics withdrew in 1830, it became the Republic of New Granada; in 1861 it changed its name to the United States of New

Granada; in 1863 it became the United States of Colombia; and in 1886 the present name was adopted, Republic of Colombia. These several changes of name, unique among Latin-American countries, is significant. Colombia, more than any of her neighbors, has fought over rival principles of government. A popular saying declares that when the three countries separated Colombia became a debating society, Venezuela a barracks, and Ecuador a convent. There have been many revolutions in Colombia, but they have been due to an excess of politics rather than merely a struggle of the "outs" to get in.

Geography has had a strong influence on the history of the country. It faces both the Atlantic and the Pacific. It possessed, until 1903, the best transoceanic canal route, situated at Panama. It is divided by three different branches of the Andes Mountains. The sweltering tropical coast lands, inhabited largely by Negroes and mulattoes, differ greatly from the cold tablelands, where are found most of the cities and the elite who govern the nation. Until the arrival of the airplane, it required eight to twelve days to travel from the coast to the capital city of Bogotá. Behind Bogotá, the land again slopes down to the tropical jungles of the Amazon valley. A divided land indeed, until

the invasion of the airplane in the 1920's!

Santander, the First President. Five men form the mountain peaks of Colombian history. The first of these is General Santander, who served under Bolívar during the war with Spain. While Bolívar was in Peru, Santander acted as president of Colombia. On the Liberator's return to Bogotá, Santander was accused of being connected with the plot to assassinate the Liberator. He escaped to the United States. After Bolívar abandoned Colombia in 1830, Santander was recalled and ruled the country from 1832 to 1837. Colombians today regard him as one of their greatest men. Under him the new republic got off to a fairly good start, in spite of its many financial and political troubles. A number of the English officers who had fought with Bolívar remained in the country and aided in liberalizing the old colonial conservatism. However, the curse of revolution was not long in getting started. General Obando, stalwart, fair-complexioned, blue-eyed, looking like a British officer, led a fierce struggle against the government.

The Rule of Mosquera. The next strong man on the scene was the former president, General Mosquera, who became the leader of the revolution after Obando's death in 1862. He was re-elected to the presidency in 1863 and again in 1866. His portrait makes him look every inch a ruler and an aristocrat. Although his education and his travels in Europe did not prepare him for democracy, he fooled his friends as well as his enemies by doing what several of his successors did—changing his theories

of government while in office. Supposedly conservative, he governed as a liberal. He separated Church and state, exiled bishops, and confiscated church property. He was president three times during the period between 1845 and 1867. All reforms, however, were accompanied by much strife and shifting of governmental organization. Groups warred against groups. Friends of today became enemies tomorrow. Mosquera gradually developed into a despot, instead of continuing to be a leader of unity and progress.

The Rule of Núñez. The end of anarchy came in 1880, when Rafael Núñez was elected president. He was a gifted lawyer and had traveled widely in Europe. While he was Mosqueras's secretary he had studied political problems. As a philosopher in government, he has been compared to Sarmiento of Argentina, Balmaceda of Chile, and Woodrow Wilson of the United States. He believed that "in politics there are no absolute truths; all things may be good or evil according to opportunity and the play of forces." Núñez started as a liberal and changed to a conservative. He came to believe that a centralized form of government in Colombia was needed for the moment. He stated his views as follows:

We have written liberty, but it is not practical. We are a republic only in name, for opinion is not expressed by the only legitimate means, suffrage. . . . Authority rather than anarchy is the best instrument for the long and arduous task of civilizing the human species.

Guided by such theories, Núñez ordered the teaching of the Catholic religion in the schools, putting his trust

in authority and in the Church. The constitution which he set up in 1886 endured, with few changes, for fifty years.

During the last few years of his presidency, which ended in 1894, he lived in his native city of Cartagena, exercising control through a deputy. The liberals took advantage of the retirement of Núñez and a division among the conservatives to start a formidable revolt. The revolution began in 1900 and lasted for three years, during which at least 100,000 men perished. Business was ruined, and communications were completely disrupted. Paper money became so cheap that it was humorously remarked that a basket of the same size was required to take the money to market as to bring back the purchases. Another serious situation presented itself in 1904. It looked as though the new president, General Reyes, was determined to make himself a dictator. But the reaction of the people was so strong that he quietly resigned and left the country.

Unwise Loans. Colombia joined other Southern republics in the craze for borrowing money from North American bankers in the 1920's. Investments of the United States in Colombia grew from some \$2,000,000 in 1913 to \$260,000,000 in 1929. Much of this money was wasted in useless, or ill-planned improvements. These reckless expenditures did not bring on revolution as in other countries. Colombia was tired of this way of settling her difficulties. But the situation aided the liberals to return to power.

The New Liberal Regime. Their standard bearer was the Colombian minister to Washington, Enrique

Olaya Herrera. Herrera began his education in Bogotá and later graduated from the National University in the same city. He entered journalism and became a leader of democratic thought. He attended several Pan-American conferences and gained a reputation as a friend of inter-American organization. A split in the strong conservative party in the 1930 elections gave the liberals their chance. Accepting the nomination, Herrera made a whirlwind campaign by plane. His election was a great surprise. He chose to rule moderately, with due respect for his opponents. While in no sense a genius, Herrera, who died a little while after he left the presidency in 1934, is remembered with affection for his quiet, progressive attitude as an administrator, when a more radical administration might have upset the country.

The rule of the liberals continued under the next two presidents, Alfonso López and Eduardo Santos. President López was elected for a second term following the retirement of Dr. Santos in 1942. López proved himself to be more radically inclined than either Herrera or Santos. During his first administration (1934-1938) he initiated land and labor reforms and allowed the Communist party to organize. He brought about a reform in the constitution which declared that education was "free,"—that is, not necessarily Catholic in character—as in the past. All forms of worship "not contrary to Christian morals" were declared permissible. On initiating his second term, President López declared himself in favor of an American League of Nations, a vigorous prosecution of the war against the

Axis, and a strong national program in favor of labor and popular education.

International Relations. Following the breakup of Great Colombia, the republic had wars over boundaries and other questions, with all her neighbors, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. These disputes continued off and on for a century. The last serious trouble over boundaries was with Peru in 1932. The two countries invested heavily in armaments and were launching into war, when the good offices of the League of Nations and fellow American republics were accepted. The matter was adjusted in a conference held in Rio de Janeiro. Boundary questions with Venezuela were finally settled in a friendly agreement announced at the meeting of the presidents of the two republics during a friendly reunion on the border line in 1938.

The most difficult questions have arisen with the United States over Panama and the canal route. In 1846 Colombia, becoming fearful of British aggression in Panama, made a treaty with the United States, which guaranteed the neutrality of the isthmus and which gave Colombia the right of transit across the isthmus for her armed forces and citizens. The United States then built a railroad across the isthmus and guaranteed its protection. It was this Treaty of 1846 which the United States claimed gave it the right to prohibit Colombian soldiers from using the railroad to cross from Colón to Panama City in order to suppress the revolution in Panama in 1903. Colombia refused to accept the treaty in regard to the canal proposed at that time by the

United States. A new treaty was approved in 1921, and friendly relations between the United States and Colombia were re-established. Feeling against the United States remained strong, however, until the adoption of the Good Neighbor Policy by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The two countries were brought into intimate association when Colombia broke relations with the Axis in 1941 and offered complete co-operation with its Northern neighbor.

Economic and Social Development. Of the 8,700,000 people who live in Colombia, more than half are mestizos. Less than 10 per cent are of pure white blood. These make up the governing class who live, for the most part, in the cool highland regions. Its high-grade coffee is the leading agricultural product. Other important agricultural products are sugar, rubber, rice, cotton, cacao, and fruit. Cattle raising is one of the principal industries, particularly in the plains region of the east. Minerals are also exported, petroleum, gold and platinum, and emeralds being the most important. Education is offered in about 8,000 public schools. There are 438 secondary schools, mostly private, and one university, the National University of Bogotá, founded in 1572.

ECUADOR

The impressive monument in the flourishing port city of Guayaquil marking the spot where Bolívar and San Martín had their famous interview is significant in the history of Ecuador. Bolívar had arrived from Colombia, and San Martín from Peru for the fateful conference. Both

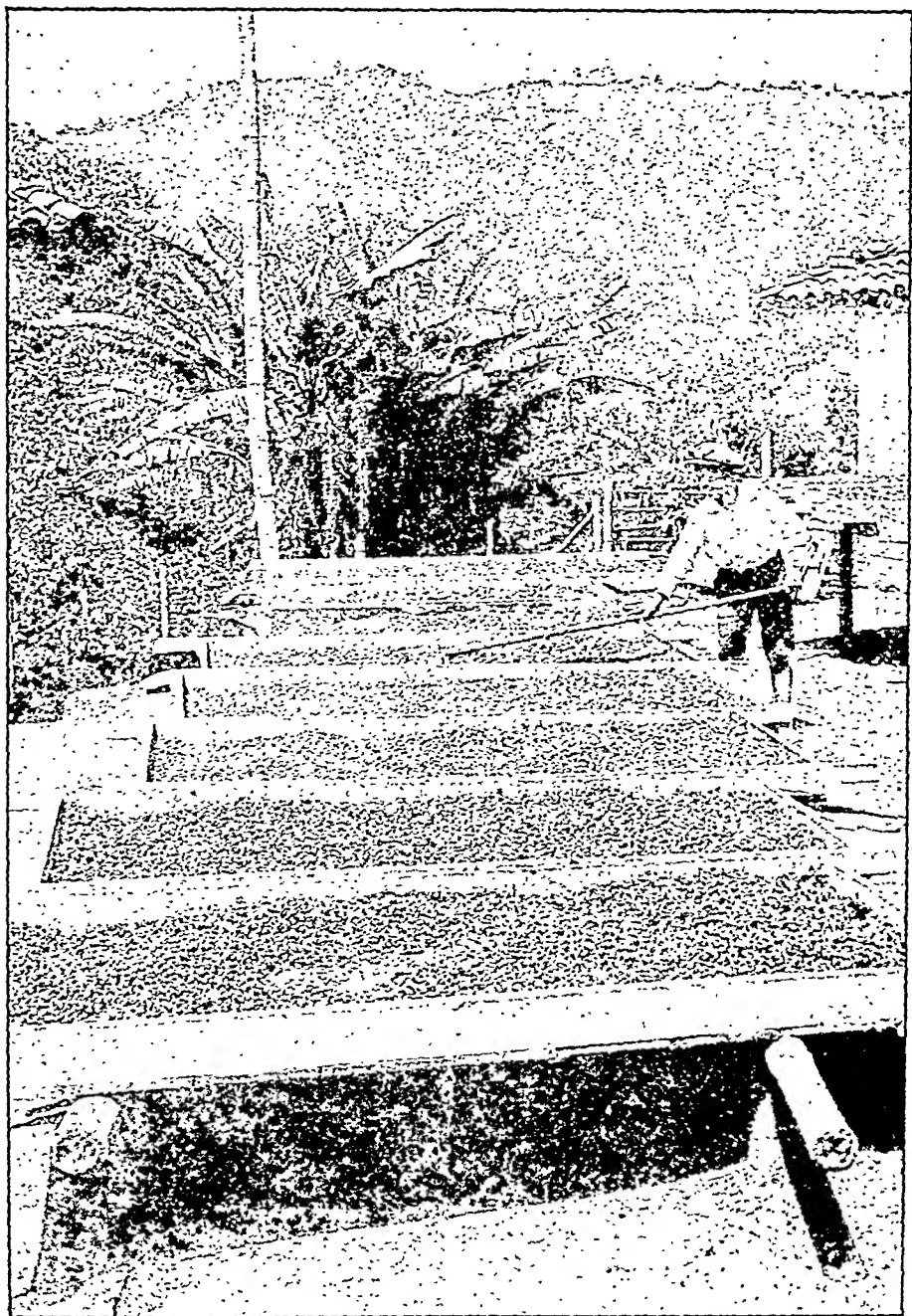


Photo by James Sanders

After the coffee beans are picked, they are dried in the sun. The highest-priced coffee comes from the highlands of Colombia and Venezuela.

wanted to draw Ecuador to his side. Bolívar was the spryest and added the prize to Great Colombia. But when the Liberator died, Ecuador again assumed its separate life. Since then it has maintained an uneasy existence between its two more powerful neighbors. Through the years innumerable disputes over frontiers, bringing crowds of idle soldiers and defeated generals from Peru and Colombia to consume Ecuador's food, helped to stir its people to the very hopeful game of revolution.

Ecuador itself, moreover, is divided geographically into three completely differing sections. Bordering on the Pacific is a large coastal plain covered with tropical vegetation, haunted by alligators, parrots, and great snakes. The important city of this coastal section is Guayaquil, on the Guayas River. It is the hot, tropical port that connects the country with the outside world. Yellow fever, in former years, often prevented ships from stopping there. From Guayaquil it is a long, steady climb up to the great plateau, land of glorious perpetual spring. On that plateau is located the capital city, Quito, rich in colonial art and culture. Near by is the famous "Avenue of Volcanoes," where in a valley two-and-a-half miles above the sea the traveler views the snow-capped monsters, one every fifty or a hundred miles, planted, as it were, along the side of the road like giant-trees. Nothing like this "avenue" exists anywhere else on the globe. Further to the east, down, down the steep slopes of these volcanoes, one finds himself in the Oriente, the dense jungles where begin the headwaters of the Amazon. The Indians of the Oriente—profes-

sional head-hunter tribes among them—the cultured citizens of Quito, and the busy merchants of Guayaquil live in three different worlds. The rivalries between the bustling city of Guayaquil and the politically minded capital of Quito have been the frequent cause of upsets in government.

The history of the republic is bound up with four remarkable men: General Juan José Flores (1801–1864), Vicente Rocafuerte (1783–1847), Gabriel García Moreno (1821–1875), and Eloy Alfaro (1848–1911). Flores and Rocafuerte shared the government of the new republic from 1830 to 1845. Theirs was one of the strangest relationships that ever existed. They alternated between enmity and friendship, and likewise alternated in control of the government. When Flores was president, Rocafuerte was governor of Guayaquil; when Rocafuerte was president, Flores was commander of the army!

Flores and Rocafuerte (1830–1845). Flores was born in Venezuela and fought with Bolívar in the War of Independence. He was in command of troops in Quito in 1830, the year that Bolívar died. He took advantage of the division and anarchy in Great Colombia and headed the movement which withdrew Ecuador from that federation. Flores was barely thirty when he began to direct the destinies of the infant republic. He was brave, quick in decisions, friendly, and appreciated a joke. When his soldiers mutinied because of hunger, he showed that he had a strong, dangerous arm. His repressive measures brought to light an opponent by the name of Rocafuerte.

Rocafuerte was a man of travel and

culture. Born in the same year as Bolívar, 1783, he was educated in Europe and traveled widely, much as Bolívar, Miranda, and the other revolutionaries had done. He had served in the court at Cadiz as a representative of Quito and studied parliamentary government in London. He had been received by the Empress Catherine of Russia and the crowned heads of Sweden, France, and Italy. He had visited the United States and Cuba. He fought for the freedom of Mexico, where he was imprisoned because of a pamphlet on the freedom of religion. When he again returned to Ecuador, he taught French to young men, using the revolutionary books of Rousseau and Montesquieu and requiring each student to teach another youth.

The first one to lead a movement to oppose the tyranny of Flores was Rocafuerte. After ten months of war he was captured. Flores recognized his enemy as the kind of man needed in government. Instead of the customary shooting at dawn, Rocafuerte was invited by Flores to become governor of Guayaquil, with a promise of the presidency when his own term expired. True to his word, he aided Rocafuerte to secure the presidency in 1835. Rocafuerte gave Ecuador a remarkable four years of administration, with government reform, new schools and hospitals, and good relations with neighboring countries. At the end of his term he returned to his position as governor of Guayaquil and Flores became president again.

General Flores's itch for power led him into trouble and finally into exile. After a costly and foolish expedition into Colombia he called a con-

stitutional convention and had a new constitution drafted extending the president's term of office to an eight-year period. His obedient henchmen then re-elected him. Under the circumstances this really meant a lifetime dictatorship. But he reckoned without his old friend Rocafuerte, who denounced such tyranny. The liberals revolted, and civil war broke out. After six months of fighting Flores was defeated and agreed to retire to Europe. He was to keep his military rank and pay and to receive 20,000 pesos for his expenses. While in Europe he basely plotted with Queen Isabella II of Spain to bring the west coast of South America again under Spanish rule. Other South American republics were so alarmed about this that they called a conference in Lima in 1847 for the purpose of repelling the invasion. Fortunately, England prevented the Spanish navy from sailing. However, five years later Flores was able to secure five ships in Peru, with which he menaced Guayaquil. But no welcome awaited him, and he departed for Peru. Ten years afterward he returned to Ecuador once more. He was made commander of the army under President García Moreno and retained that position till his death in 1864.

Rocafuerte, who had taken a leading part in the movement against his old ally, died in 1847, two years after Flores had departed for Europe. The fifteen years of government by these two powerful executives was followed by fifteen years of tumult, attempted reform, and reaction (1845-1860).

The Rule of García Moreno. The great figure that dominates the scene for the next fifteen years defies analy-

sis. By liberals he is ranked as a bigot, by conservatives a demigod, by all as a brilliant, austere servant of duty, as he saw it. Gabriel García Moreno was born in 1821 of Spanish parents. He was a brilliant student and noted for his hard work at the University of Quito. He visited Paris several times, and, during the famous liberal revolution of 1848, he developed a hatred for liberalism. He became rector of the University of Quito and senator from Guayaquil. Next he was exiled to Peru because of his bitter denunciation of the liberal government. In 1860 he was recalled and after a campaign of several months became the president. His government lasted for fifteen years, with him as president three times and at other times as an authoritative adviser. He invited Jesuit educators to re-organize the school system and to carry out a program of agriculture on scientific principles. He kept personal watch over the finances. He built roads. He opened an observatory and encouraged science. He eliminated graft and waged war on bureaucracy and smuggling.

All of Moreno's reforms revolved around the belief that "to moralize a country one must give it a Catholic constitution." He put education completely in the hands of the clergy, who were to see that no heretical books were permitted. He eulogized Emperor Maximilian in Mexico and tried to intervene in Colombia, where a liberal president was in power. He dedicated the country to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and placed a symbolic picture of the Sacred Heart in the principal government building. In spite of the fact that the dictator de-

fended the poor, brought prosperity, and enforced law, his liberal enemies, in exile, bitterly attacked him.

The greatest of Moreno's opponents was the distinguished writer, Juan Montalvo. He boasted, when Moreno was struck down by an assassin, that "it was my pen that slew him." But even Montalvo recognized in this hard-working, self-sacrificing leader, "a sublime intelligence, a superiority to every trial, a strong invincible will." Only Francia of Paraguay, Núñez of Colombia, and Balmaceda of Chile had brought such a powerful intellect to South American government.

Again, the old story repeated itself. A dominant ruler was followed by a period of anarchy. This period lasted for twenty years. In 1895 a man appeared who was as immersed in the beliefs of liberalism as García Moreno had been in the doctrines of the Church.

The Alfaro Regime (1895-1912). General Eloy Alfaro, a liberal of great ability, had been exiled by Moreno. During this period he had lived in Panama, where he studied liberal government and built up a fortune in business. He was a close friend of the writer, Juan Montalvo, with whom he worked on national problems. In 1897, after a period of political dominance following a revolution in Guayaquil, he was elected president. For two decades thereafter, as in the days of Flores and Rocafuerte, Alfaro alternated in power with another political leader, Gutiérrez Plaza. But always it was the liberal Alfaro who, until his death in 1912, dominated the scene. He separated Church and state and started a system of free pub-

lic schools. He gave much of his energy to the completion of the railroad from Guayaquil to Quito. The final unification of these two cities by rail meant much for the political and economic development of the country. The Church question was wisely handled in the beginning of his power by his own moderation and by the co-operation of Archbishop González Suárez. But the smoldering hatred of the conservatives asserted itself. When, as a result, Alfaro resigned and left for Europe, anarchy ensued. He came back and attempted to regain control of the government. His enemies rose against him and sent him to prison. There he was attacked by a mob of fanatics and dragged into the street; his body was torn apart and paraded before the public. Just as in the case of his great enemy, García Moreno, Alfaro's good works for Ecuador were destroyed because the people had learned nothing of tolerance and unity for the national good.

Recent Events. Many presidents have ruled Ecuador since Alfaro. Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno (1916-1920) improved the sanitation of the port of Guayaquil, with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation. Though José Luis Tamayo (1920-1924) was progressive in some respects, he was criticized because of the influence of certain banks on his administration. Dr. Isidro Ayora (1926-1931) invited a group of United States economists, headed by Professor Edwin Kemmerer, to diagnose the economic ailments of the government. As a result a central bank was established on June 1, 1927, and the currency was reformed. Between 1931 and 1940 twelve presidents ruled the country,

some of them for only a few days. Dr. Carlos Arroyo del Río, the liberal-radical candidate, was elected chief magistrate in 1940. He visited President Roosevelt at the White House in 1943 and offered Ecuador's complete co-operation, including the strategic Galápagos Islands, in support of the war efforts of the United Nations.

Economic and Social Development. Ecuador, like her two unfortunate neighbors, Paraguay and Bolivia, has been vexed with problems caused by her isolation from the outside world, by difficulties of transportation and communication within the country, by a large, unassimilated Indian population, by the prevalence of tropical diseases, by a small national budget, with which to reduce the illiteracy of her people. These all form a vicious circle which make for continued political disorder. The country has been especially cursed in recent years by the blight which has fallen on her most important crop, cacao (from which cocoa and chocolate are prepared). So far the experts have not been able satisfactorily to solve the problem. The mineral wealth has been developed to only a small degree, although it is known that there are valuable mineral deposits in the country. Cacao, vegetable ivory, straw hats (hand-plaited of carefully selected young leaves of the jipijapa plant), coffee, and tropical fruits are the principal exports.

Ecuador has experienced an awakening among her young intellectuals which promises much for the country's future. This new life is especially in evidence in the production of a number of social novels which describe the needs of the Indians and

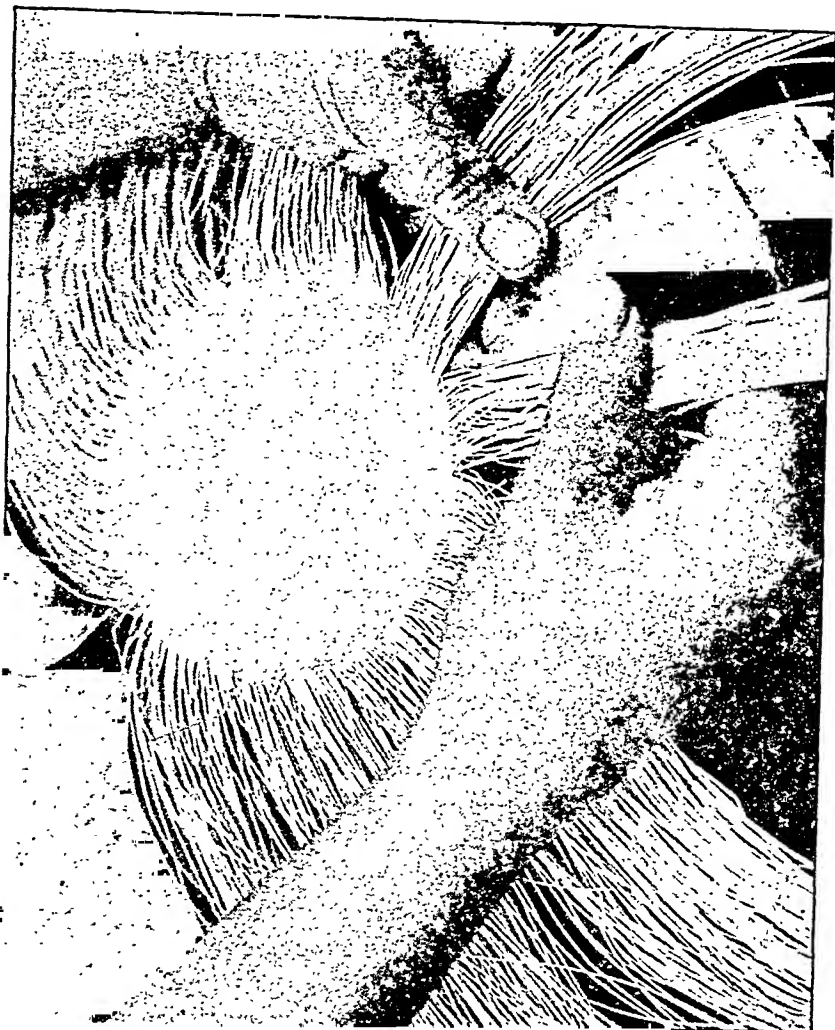


Photo from Grace Line

The labor of Latin-American workers is as important as the treaties written by diplomats in promoting friendship between the Americas. This native of Ecuador needs great skill to weave this fine "Panama" hat.

the laboring classes. The same group has founded magazines on cultural and educational subjects that circulate in all parts of the continent.

VENEZUELA

Little Venice, the Spaniards called this country because of the many rivulets that reminded them of the canals of Venice. Home of the most famous of South Americans, Simón Bolívar,

seat of operations of the most colorful dictators of modern times, producer of enormous supplies of petroleum, birthplace of noted literary leaders—that is the story of Venezuela. United with Colombia and Ecuador under the sway of its greatest citizen, Venezuela withdrew from them a year before the Liberator died. Strange to say, this separation took place under the direction of General José Antonio

Páez, who had fought for many years under Bolívar. A ranchman on the plains of Venezuela, Páez first offered himself and his men to the Liberator in the midst of a hard campaign against the Spaniards.

"If I only had those three enemy gunboats moored on the opposite bank of the River [Apure] we would surely win the coming battle," sighed Bolívar. "Don't worry about that, General," replied Páez. He called fifty of his *llaneros* (cowboys), pointed at the gunboats, and led the horsemen pell-mell into the river. It was a half mile across, and the river was full of crocodiles. The Spaniards were so overcome at the sight of the swimming; shouting, struggling horsemen that they abandoned the boats. Bolívar and his little Venezuelan army watched this astounding feat with great admiration. Thereafter the two leaders fought many a battle together.

The Páez Regime. Local conditions led Páez in 1830 to set up an independent government. In spite of his lack of education Páez started his country on a moderate, liberal regime. He faced great difficulties because the country had been the scene of long years of terrific fighting, and most of the educated people had been killed in battle. Páez influenced the country, both when he was in office and out of office, for fifteen years. He opened schools, guarded the treasury, built roads, proclaimed religious tolerance, and reduced the army to 800 men.

The conservative elements moved against Páez. After several defeats he was expelled from the country in 1850. He went to live in the United

States, where he became popular. His pleasant attitude, his frankness and friendliness, along with his handsome appearance won him many attentions when the populace saluted him on the streets. In New York, Philadelphia, and Washington he was received with military honors. He presented his sword to the city of New York. There he died, on May 6, 1873, in his eighty-third year. His body was returned to Venezuela on a United States naval vessel, under the special authority of Congress.

The successor to Páez in 1846 was José T. Monagas, a strange mixture of professed liberalism and tyranny. His army even stormed congress and killed several deputies who endeavored to escape. He and his brothers carried on a disgraceful rule for twelve years.

The Rule of Guzmán Blanco. There now appeared on the scene the most picturesque of all South American *caudillos*, Antonio Guzmán Blanco. He was the son of a liberal newspaper editor in Caracas, who obtained the presidency by overthrowing the Monagas government. For twenty years he ruled with a combination of characteristics that produced both progress and ridicule. Taking offense at a minor dispute with the archbishop, he introduced a severe anti-clerical program, banished nunneries, and authorized the marriage of the clergy. His "unbending progressive autocracy," as one Venezuelan writer expresses it, developed education and reformed finances. His egotism knew no bounds. He assigned prizes to school children for the best essays on "The Glory of the Illustrious American" (his self-

chosen title). His numerous public works all bore his name in a prominent place. He even had statues erected to himself. He presented full-length portraits of himself to friends who were expected to place these in prominent positions. It is reported that one such painting depicting the death scene of Bolívar represented the "illustrious American" as among the prominent people present, although Guzmán was a mere infant when the Liberator died! When the dictator, for some reason, was not actually occupying the presidency, he lived in Paris and from there sent his orders to his puppet in Caracas. And yet, Guzmán Blanco did much to improve Venezuela. He spent his last years in luxury in Paris, where he died in 1899.

The Dictatorship of Castro. Venezuela's next dictator was General Cipriano Castro. He was born in 1858, worked on a cattle ranch, and received little education. While in the cattle business in Colombia, he invaded his native land and established himself in the presidency with the aid of a lieutenant by the name of Juan Vicente Gómez. "Supreme Chief of the Liberal Revolutionary Restoration" was the title he chose for himself. For nine years he ruled Venezuela as a cruel, relentless dictator. His insolence in dealing with foreign creditors aided in bringing about his downfall. His immoral personal life broke his health. In 1908 he went to Europe to consult physicians. He had already sent his family and immense sums of money abroad. He left as vice-president his old friend, General Gómez. That proved to be a fatal mistake. For when Castro decided to

return to Venezuela and his presidential office, Gómez refused to allow him to land.

The Dictatorship of Gómez. A remarkable dictatorship which lasted for twenty-seven years was then initiated by the crafty and cruel Gómez. He maintained order, and clapped into dungeons those who opposed him. When it was discovered that Venezuela had large quantities of oil, the sly, old dictator, remembering México's difficulties, called the foreign oilmen together and asked them to submit their suggestions for a just partnership with the nation for the production of petroleum. With the aid of his own experts he made an agreement with the petroleum magnates that gave Venezuela a large income from oil exported from the country. The government was so prosperous that it paid off all of its public debt and became the only nation in the world free from debt. Foreigners regarded Gómez as a great ruler. But his own people knew that while in office he had grown to be one of the richest men in the world and that he had sent to dark dungeons, exiled, or assassinated many of the liberal-minded people of the country.

Hated by his people, this last of the old-style dictators of Latin America, died in 1935. There was great rejoicing on the part of the whole nation. His successor was General Eleázar López Contreras, who had been Gómez' minister of war. To the surprise of all, Contreras was able to guide the nation into new life without any violent upheaval. The exiles returned home. Vengeance was wreaked on the rich Gómez family and upon his supporters. But the

country soon settled down to a program of education, public health, improvement of public works, and restoration of national dignity.

In 1941 Contreras turned over his administration to his duly elected successor, General Isaiás Medina. The whole of America rejoiced to see the progress of Venezuela toward democratic life.

Economic and Social Development. The population of Venezuela totals about three and a half millions, of which 10 per cent are pure whites, and 70 to 90 per cent are mestizos. Agriculture is the most important industry, and coffee is the leading crop. Cacao, fruits, and vegetables are also exported. Stock raising is an important industry. It is oil, however, that has transformed the national econ-

omy of Venezuela from a rather poor, tropical country to one which is, for the present at least, among the most stable in the world.

Although Venezuela started out as the leader of South American independence and cultural life under the inspiration of three great characters—Miranda the Forerunner, Bolívar the Liberator, and Bello, the writer and teacher—it lost the way for a while. Today it is again typical of all its fellow republics in its efforts to adapt itself to modern conditions. The second World War has awakened the people. Relations with the Axis were broken soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Co-operation with the other members of the Pan American Union for the development of a superior continental life became evident.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. Leading Figures of Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. The following statements deal with events in chronological order for each of the three countries. Match each statement with the correct name from the list of leaders by writing the letter of the leader in the parentheses in front of the statement.

- | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| a. Santander | g. Núñez | m. Mosquera |
| b. Gómez | h. Rocafuerte | n. Castro |
| c. López | i. Páez | o. Alfaro |
| d. Bolívar | j. López Contreras | p. Flores |
| e. Moreno | k. Del Río | |
| f. Guzmán Blanco | l. Herrera | |

Colombia

- () 1. Returned from exile in the United States to be the first president of Colombia after Bolívar.
- () 2. President for three terms, who separated the Church and state.
- () 3. A philosopher-president who restored Catholic control of education.
- () 4. A journalist and minister to Washington, called home to be president during the great depression.
- () 5. Liberal president who initiated many reforms, including labor laws and the removal of education from religious control.

Ecuador

- () 6. President who separated Ecuador from Colombia but was exiled when his soldiers mutinied.
- () 7. The revolutionist who, when captured, was given a government position but later exiled his benefactor.
- () 8. The dictator who asked the Jesuits to take over the schools and brought in scientific agriculture.
- () 9. Liberal president who separated Church and state and built the Guayaquil-Quito railroad.
- () 10. President who visited the United States in 1943 and offered the Galápagos Islands as bases during the war.

Venezuela

- () 11. The Venezuelan who joined the three colonies into one republic, Great Colombia, of which he was president.
- () 12. A cowboy leader in the revolution who became the first president but later went into exile in New York City.
- () 13. South America's most picturesque *caudillo*, who called himself "The Illustrious American."
- () 14. The dictator who paid off the national debt by means of royalties on oil production by foreign companies.
- () 15. The president who restored democracy to Venezuela and encouraged education, health measures, and public works.

B. Some Problems of Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. Each of the following statements is accompanied by a group of completions, some of which are correct. Encircle the letter of each correct completion.

1. Because of her geography, Colombia
 - a. Faces both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.
 - b. Has two tropical areas, with a cool plateau between them.
 - c. Has a terrain readily adaptable to railways and highways.
 - d. Has revolutionized transportation by means of the airplane.
 - e. Has a hot coastal strip largely inhabited by Negroes and a plateau where the white elite live.
2. In the relations of the United States and Colombia over Panama
 - a. By the treaty of 1846, Colombia ceded to the United States the right to build a canal across the isthmus.
 - b. The United States first built a railway across the isthmus and guaranteed the protection of the province of Panama.
 - c. When Panama revolted from Colombia in 1903, the United States refused to let Colombian troops go by the railway to put down the revolt.
 - d. Because of this incident, relations between the two countries were not good until 1921.
3. Because of her geography, Ecuador
 - a. Has a tropical coastal strip centering in the port of Guayaquil.
 - b. Had a serious yellow fever problem there until the Rockefeller Foundation helped combat it at the time of World War I.
 - c. Has no primitive Indian population.
 - d. Among the high Andes Mountains is an "Avenue of Volcanoes."
 - e. East of the Andes is a jungle province in which the headwaters of the Amazon River have their start.
4. Ecuador faces the following national handicaps
 - a. The absence of a vigorous intellectual life
 - b. Great transportation problems because of the Andes Mountains
 - c. A serious health problem, especially in the tropical areas
 - d. A blight on the important cacao trees for which a cure has not yet been found
 - e. A high illiteracy rate among the Indian population
5. The dictatorship of Gómez included the following
 - a. His opponents were imprisoned or otherwise disposed of.
 - b. He made an agreement with the foreign oil companies which brought wealth to the Venezuelan treasury.
 - c. By this means the whole national debt was paid off.
 - d. He himself did not acquire personal wealth.
 - e. Foreigners often regarded Gómez as a great ruler, but most Venezuelans rejoiced at his death.

6. These statements are true of all three countries
 - a. The Andes Mountains divide them into tropical lowland and temperate highland.
 - b. Coffee is an important export.
 - c. The majority of the people are mestizos.
 - d. These countries have had the problem of the relation of the Church to the government and education.
 - e. The making of "Panama" hats is an important industry.
 - f. All were liberated and organized by Bolívar.

C. Correspondence or Class Assignment

1. Write a comparison of the policies of three presidents of Colombia: Mosquera, Núñez, and López.
2. List five problems which Ecuador faces and explain the measures which President Alfaro adopted to deal with at least one of them.
3. Describe one of the Venezuelan dictators, and the policies of López Contreras which ended the period of dictatorship.

D. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Carr, Katherine, *South American Primer*, Ch. 7 (Peru and Ecuador); Ch. 8 (Colombia); Ch. 9 (Venezuela).

Gunther, John, *Inside Latin America*, Ch. 11 (Colombia); Ch. 12 (Venezuela); Ch. 13 (Ecuador).

Herring, Hubert, *Good Neighbors*, pp. 269-72 (Ecuador); Part IV, Ch. 4 (Venezuela); Ch. 5 (Colombia).

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*, Ch. 16 (Gómez).

Williams, Mary W., *People and Politics of Latin America*, Ch. 21 (Colombia); Ch. 22 (Venezuela); Ch. 23 (Ecuador).

VI. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RELATIONS

American international relations follow the lines of a triangle. The apex of the triangle is in Europe. The first side was traced by Columbus in 1492 and extended from southern Europe to the middle section of the New World. For the first century this was practically the only line of communication. During that time European culture flowed constantly toward what is now called Latin America and established itself early in that section of the world. A hundred years later, with the founding of Jamestown and Plymouth, the second side of the triangle was laid down. During the next two centuries the international relations of the New World were confined to these two separate lines, flowing to and from the motherland but having nothing to do with each other. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when most of the American countries had established their independence, that the third side of the triangle running north and south began to be traced.

The line connecting north and south has been the most difficult to establish. Both groups of colonists in the Americas found the flow of ideas, of commerce, and of travel much easier to carry on with kinsmen back in Europe than with fellow frontiersmen, North and South. After securing

their independence, the United States and Latin America realized that it would be mutually helpful to develop closer relations. We will study this movement in detail. Before doing so, let us glance at the high lights in the efforts of various Old World countries to control the Latin-American republics.

RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

The political relationships of Latin America with Europe have been largely with the countries of Spain, Great Britain, France, and Germany. It might have been expected that the mother countries would have interfered with their young offspring more than did other nations. But such has not been the case. As for Portugal, a pigmy in comparison with her enormous daughter, she has made practically no effort to meddle in Brazil's affairs.

Spain. Spain made several attempts to recover her lost colonies. In the 1840's General Flores, the exiled dictator of Ecuador, engaged in a filibuster expedition, aided by the queen of Spain, to restore the mother country's power. From 1861 to 1865 the Dominicans actually returned to the Spanish flag. In 1866 Spain sent a diplomatic mission, accompanied by battleships, to make certain demands

on Peru. The result was a war in which Chile aided Peru. The bombardment of the defenseless port of Valparaíso, and later of Callao by the Spaniards reacted against them so completely that they never again attempted to reaffirm their sovereignty over these former colonies. The long struggle between Spain and her last American colony, Cuba, was a continuous cause of international disturbance. Spain, since 1900, has exercised only a cultural influence on her former possessions in America. Even that was reduced by the development of the reactionary revolution led by General Francisco Franco.

Great Britain. Great Britain aided in the independence movement in Latin America in order to weaken Spain, her rival, and to build up a market for her manufactured goods. British bankers began to make loans to Argentina as early as 1824 and throughout the century have financed the building of railroads and other public improvements. The economic and political influences of Great Britain in Latin America have often caused rivalries with the United States in that field.

Britain's ambitions in Mexico, Texas, Cuba, and Central America were long a disturbing element in the internal affairs of those countries, especially as the United States had the same ambitions.

The history of British Guiana, British Honduras, and the Falkland Islands is a reminder of early British movements to influence the continent. Argentina still protests vigorously the holding of the Falkland Islands, as Guatemala does the possession of British Honduras. As early as 1806

Britain occupied Buenos Aires but soon was driven out by local forces.

Anglo-American rivalries in Central America almost brought about war. British settlers in the port city of Belize spread into the back country, as Americans had in Texas, and in 1848 British Honduras was claimed as a colony. In 1841 Britain, with the evident purpose of dominating the canal route, backed the chief of the Mosquito tribe in extending his territory to Greytown, Nicaragua.

About the middle of the century Great Britain had a serious dispute with Brazil over the slave trade and in 1895-1899 with Venezuela over the boundary of British Guiana.

France. France secured a dominant cultural influence over all Latin America in the early days of the nineteenth century. She also made several attempts at political dominance. In 1838 France and Mexico engaged in the "Pastry Cook's War," so called because it began over the claims of a French pastry cook. France also actively intervened in the affairs of Argentina and Uruguay from 1838 to 1850.

Fifteen years later Napoleon III helped Maximilian to establish himself as emperor of Mexico. This proved to be the most dangerous move ever made by any outside nation to control the life of a Latin-American country.

Germany. Except for the settlers who emigrated to Brazil in 1824, Germany came late into the field. Once started, however, she drove hard and fast. From 1896 to the beginning of the first World War, her commerce with Latin America increased 325 per cent; her colonists, of both farmer and

commercial classes, reached the number of 500,000; her ships were the fastest, her goods were the cheapest, her banks the most accommodating. German cultural societies and German schools, aided by the home government, sprang up in every Latin-American country. The German Foreign Office began to take a lively interest in inter-American problems.

Germany became involved in the financial troubles of Caribbean countries and sent military forces to Nicaragua in 1878 and to Haiti in 1898. Germany's most famous attempt at intervention was in connection with the claims on Venezuela in 1902-1903.

During the first World War German propaganda in Latin America against the United States was heavy. It increased enormously upon the appearance of Adolf Hitler.

EFFORTS TO BECOME GOOD NEIGHBORS

Relationships between the Latin-American countries themselves have been discussed in the section on the history of each republic. We are now ready to face the interesting question of inter-American relations and the Good Neighbor Policy.

Three Policies of Inter-American Co-operation. President Franklin D. Roosevelt said in his inaugural address on March 4, 1933: "I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors."

One hundred and fifteen years before the statement of the Good Neighbor Policy Simón Bolívar wrote to the president of Argentina: "When more favorable circumstances afford us more frequent communications, we shall hasten to set on foot the American covenant. By forming one political body of all our republics, we shall present America to the world with an aspect of majesty and greatness unparalleled among the nations."

Five years after Bolívar wrote to the Argentine president advocating continental unity, President James Monroe, on December 2, 1823, addressed Congress as follows: "We owe it therefore to candor and the amicable relations existing between the United States and those [European] powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

The three policies announced by these three great leaders of the American continent are principles with which every right-thinking person will agree. All recognize that in our own communities we should have good relations with our neighbors. We also believe that our own community should co-operate with other communities to improve roads, health, and education as well as work co-operatively against outside diseases and criminals. Every young couple in the community has a natural desire to live its own life, to develop its family in its own way without undue interference from the parents. Nations are only communities grown large. Theoretically, American nations have always recognized that they ought to treat each other in a kindly fashion.

They have also recognized that certain benefits would come to each of them by their co-operating in the development of trade, the settling of disputes, and the improvement of the continent as a whole. Equally, all the American nations, having secured by shedding of blood independence from the countries of Europe, have held the principle that President Monroe announced—that the Old World must not interfere with the New World, in its development of democratic life.

If these three principles have been accepted from the beginning of their history by the United States and the Latin-American countries, how is it that so much time elapsed before they were put into practice? When we review the history of the continent, we find that such ideals were not always followed for the same reasons that local communities often fail to achieve neighborliness and co-operative action.

Territorial Possessions. For example, visiting a certain community you might find one family living in a fine large house with extensive grounds while another family had only a cottage on a small lot. If you returned twenty years later and found that the situation had been reversed—that the former owner of the small lot now possessed the large estate—you would naturally wonder if the exchange of property had disturbed neighborliness. On the American continent the United States began with a small territory of thirteen original states fronting on the Atlantic Ocean. Latin America began with a great territory, which extended all the way from California down through New Mexico, Old Mexico, and Panama, down to Cape Horn. If you look at

the map as it was when George Washington took his seat as president, you will see that the United States at its widest part extended only as far as the Mississippi River. If you again take a look at a map of the Americas in 1850, you will see that the United States had extended its territory across the entire continent to the shores of the Pacific and south as far as the Rio Grande and the keys of southern Florida. This change in the map suggests that something might have happened that disturbed relationships between the two neighbors. And so it had.

Difficulties in Transportation. If neighbors live so far apart that they seldom see each other and if there are no roads connecting them, they are not likely to understand each other or to desire each other's friendship. Until very recently that was the condition of the United States and its neighbors to the south. Travel between the United States and most of the Latin-American countries has been difficult and expensive.

Circulation of False Reports. A neighborhood is easily divided by rumors and false reports. These misunderstandings grow when neighbors do not speak the same language, have different ideals in life, and occupy different positions as to education, business, and political organizations. All these things have kept American nations from being good neighbors. The false rumors and lack of understanding among the younger countries have been promoted and encouraged by some of the older nations of Europe, who hoped that the young people would neither like nor understand each other.



North America in 1783

Rivalries. As each family or nation begins to grow and strive for leadership, it finds itself in competition with the other members of the group. American nations, as they have grown, have become jealous of the power and prestige of their neighbors. This has naturally made it more difficult for each to be a magnanimous neighbor or to work with other countries for the common good of the continent.

Henry Clay and Pan-Americanism. Keeping in mind the fundamental laws of community solidarity, let us examine the history of the American nations—always remembering that nations are simply enlarged communities. We will thus understand why Pan-American amity has encountered difficulties. The United States was a small, weak country when Spanish America began, in 1810, to struggle for its independence. We had our own problems with Spain. We desired to secure Florida from that country and could not afford to affront her. Many leaders believed, therefore, that it would be unwise for the United States to risk offending Spain by aiding the independence movement of her colonies. But the United States held a great soul, daring and brilliant as Bolívar himself, a man who was willing to risk his all in backing the struggle of our Southern neighbors for independence. That man was the idol of the frontier state of Kentucky, Henry Clay. Fascinating and irresistible, as Charles Dickens later described him, this great orator labored incessantly from 1816 to 1822 for his country's recognition of the cause of the Spanish-American patriots. He was the youngest Speaker the House of Representatives had ever known.

What some have called the greatest speech ever delivered on the floor of the House was made by Clay one hundred twenty-five years ago in asking for the recognition of the young Spanish-American republics. Said Clay:

In the establishment of the independence of Spanish America the United States have the deepest interest. There is no question in the foreign policy of this country which has ever arisen or which I can conceive as ever occurring in the decision of which we have or can have so much at stake. It is in our power to create a system of which we shall be the center and in which South America will act with us. These governments, once independent, will be animated by an American feeling and guided by an American policy.

Few Pan-American conferences are celebrated today without glowing tributes being paid by Latin Americans to the leadership of Henry Clay. Under his inspiration, the United States, in 1822, became the first nation in the world to recognize the independence of the Southern republics. In December, 1823, Monroe issued his famous message, which became the fundamental foreign policy of the United States. The idea that Europe should not mix in the affairs of the American continent was as strongly held in Latin America as in the United States. Monroe's statement was welcomed by all Latin-American countries. It was only in later years, when the doctrine was twisted to signify the dominance of the United States on the American continent, that the Latin Americans found so much fault with it.

The First American Congress. The first call for inter-American co-operation came from the great South

American leader, Simón Bolívar. He felt that friendly feeling between neighbors should be organized to develop the neighborhood and protect it from marauders. This movement was initiated by calling a congress at Panama in 1826. Delegates assembled from Peru, Great Colombia (Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela), Central America, and Mexico. Transportation difficulties and jealousies prevented delegates coming from the southern end of South America. The United States Congress debated for some five months the question of sending delegates. When Congress finally approved, it was too late for the delegates to arrive at the meeting.

The First American Congress, held at Panama, reviewed all the arguments in favor of Pan-American co-operation. After a month's session the delegates approved the organization of a general assembly which was to meet every two years to negotiate treaties, to maintain peace and to arbitrate difficulties between nations. The following principles were approved: American countries were to aid one another with military forces if attacked by foreign nations; all disputes were to be settled by arbitration; rights of citizenship in each country were to be extended to citizens of other American countries; traffic in slaves was to be renounced; the integrity of each American state was to be mutually guaranteed. These treaties were never adopted by the American nations. The absence of representatives from the United States was a hard blow to the plans for co-operation. The debates in Congress showed that this country was not willing to enter into any organized relationships with other

governments to protect the continent from Europe. Neither did it want to join an organization to promote better conditions on this continent.

The Latin-American countries were convinced of the need of such international organization. They wanted it for three reasons: first, for mutual protection against the Spanish threats of reconquest; second, in order to settle disputes by arbitration rather than by war; third, because they believed that such an international league could aid in the promotion of trade, of political order, and of education. These are the three objectives of all international co-operation: self-protection, prevention of war, and mutual improvement. Bolívar and his associates were the first leaders in history to state these principles so clearly. One hundred years later the League of Nations, formed in Paris, recognized these principles as fundamental. The most powerful of American nations, the United States, preferred to go its own way. It was not until a cold March day in 1933, more than one hundred years later, that our government clearly turned to the policy of co-operation formulated by Simón Bolívar.

The Doctrine of "Manifest Destiny." In the two decades, 1840-1860, the expression "manifest destiny" became the motto of the United States. The idea that the United States was destined to overspread the continent took possession of the country. In 1846 it went to war with Mexico, in spite of the protests of such leaders as Abraham Lincoln. As a result of that war the United States became still stronger. It added to its land nearly half of Mexico's total territory.

The Mexican War, Latin Americans tell us, marked the beginning of the suspicion and fear of the United States by the Southern republics. The American neighborhood was divided. The rich and the poor, the successful and the unsuccessful, began to work against each other.

The Second American Congress. Following the Panama meeting in 1826 several efforts were made to call another American Congress. In 1847 the Second American Congress assembled in Lima, Peru. The exciting topic was the rumored invasion of western South America by Spain, led by a renegade Ecuadorian general named Juan José Flores. The United States sent no delegates to the conference. How could it send emissaries of peace and good will when it was engaged in war with Mexico, one of the members of the community? Treaties were again signed, promising more or less the same kind of co-operation as at Panama. But the threat of Spain disappeared. The treaties were not approved. Each of the nations became more and more involved in its own problems.

The Third American Congress. The Third American Congress was held in Santiago, Chile, in 1856. By this time Latin-American republics frankly acknowledged their fear of the United States. The United States filibuster, William Walker, had invaded Nicaragua the year before. Backed by a few well-trained sharpshooters he had elevated himself to the presidency of the country. It seemed that he even counted on a certain amount of backing from the homeland in his aim of annexing Nicaragua to the United States. Though a treaty providing for

a "great American family" union was drafted, the United States was not invited to become a signer of the treaty. No results of any value came of this attempt. The same difficulties of isolation, of local problems, and of international jealousies brought failure.

The Fourth American Congress. "The wolf is at the door" was again heard in the 1860's. This time it was no false alarm, for Europe was once more menacing the peace of the New World. Maximilian, backed by France, had established an empire in Mexico. The Spanish flag was again flying over Santo Domingo. Spain had sent her fleet to the west coast of South America to force Peru to recognize certain claims arising from alleged ill treatment of Spanish citizens in Peru.

The Fourth American Congress assembled on November 16, 1864, in Lima to face this threat against the American continent. The United States was in no position to participate in such a conference, because it was overwhelmingly occupied by the War between the States. Some of the most famous statesmen of South America attended the conference. There was a lively discussion of many problems involved in continental unity. Under the leadership of Chile and Peru the countries on the Pacific temporarily united. But when the common enemy disappeared, each nation returned to its own interests. Not long after the Fourth American Congress a bloody war broke out between Paraguay on one side and Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay on the other. This war, which lasted from 1865 to 1870, ended with the complete defeat of Paraguay. The peace was amicably arranged. But another war, the War

of the Pacific, which lasted from 1879 to 1883, left divisions that were to separate nations for many decades. In this war Chile defeated Peru and Bolivia and took the rich nitrate provinces from those two countries. The cause of Pan-Americanism suffered from this disunity until 1929, when the old Tacna and Arica wound was finally healed. Peru took Tacna, and Chile took Arica. As a result Bolivia was left isolated from the sea.

The United States and Pan-Americanism. At the beginning of the twentieth century what was the position of the United States in carrying out the three principles of neighborliness, of international co-operation, and of the protection of the continent from European aggression? The neighborly feeling expressed by Henry Clay in North America and by many statesmen in Latin America had disappeared. Suspicion of the United States had possessed the Southern countries as strongly as the cry of "manifest destiny" had claimed the North. Neighborliness had disappeared. The second principle, that of co-operation for the advancement of the community, had been stressed by the Latin-American countries, but without success. The third principle of protection from outside enemies had been successfully carried out, but for this the Latin Americans, who had repulsed the Spanish navy in its attack upon Peru and Chile, were largely responsible. Those nations were deeply disappointed when the United States failed to back the Monroe Doctrine by aiding them in repulsing Spain. They could not then understand, nor can we today, why the United States battleships did not aid

the South American navies in preventing the Spanish bombardment in 1866 of the unprotected port of Valparaíso. The fact was, however, that although the United States ships were anchored in the Valparaíso harbor when the Spaniards notified them of the proposed bombardment, our ships weighed anchor and put out to sea, leaving the Chilean port defenseless. When the French forces landed in Veracruz in 1863 and established an empire under Maximilian, the neutral policy of the United States is more understandable, for the nation was engaged in a life-and-death struggle of its own.

However, following the close of the War between the States, we did notify France that she must withdraw her troops from Mexico. This no doubt aided Mexico to defeat Maximilian. It was clear that up to that day the Americas had not been able to organize themselves. Neither had they been able to agree on a co-operative policy of protecting the continent from outside enemies.

The sad experience of the War between the States gave the United States a new understanding of the possibility of civil disturbances and revolutions of the kind that had plagued her Southern neighbors. Following the war her industries developed rapidly. Her new factories needed markets. It was natural that the lands to the South should hopefully command her attention. At this time there appeared another great name in Pan-Americanism, Secretary of State James G. Blaine. He was always awake to the interests of his party and his country. He sensed the beginning of the new era of expansion and power following

the War between the States. His every thought centered on how to usher in this new epoch.

Shortly after Blaine had been appointed Secretary of State, an official from the state department called upon him to make a report. It so happened that the new Secretary of State had been looking about for some new project that might advance his country and his own political reputation. When the official suggested that better relations with the Latin-American republics offered a new opportunity, the proposal immediately appealed to the alert Mr. Blaine. Consequently, he prevailed upon his government to call the first Pan-American conference ever held under the leadership of the United States.

Two fundamental ideas lay behind the calling of the conference. The first one was to promote political peace on the continent. The War of the Pacific, when Chile had defeated Peru and Bolivia, had left a very unsatisfactory relationship among the South American republics. Boundary disputes also disturbed conditions in Mexico and Central America. Blaine had found himself in difficulty as a result of his efforts to settle some of these disputes. Some way had to be found to turn to the second idea of improvement of commercial relationships between the United States and Latin America. This improvement was necessary because the United States was developing factories and felt the need of a larger foreign trade. At that time half the foreign trade of the United States was with the British Empire. Another 25 per cent was with Asia; only 15 per cent was with Latin America. Even that 15 per cent was

unsatisfactory. In 1860, for example, the United States purchased \$85,000,000 worth of goods from Latin America, most of which came into this country free of duty. In that same year we sold to Latin America only \$39,000,000 worth of goods, on most of which a high duty was exacted as they entered Latin America. Blaine hoped to remedy that unfavorable situation at the conference in Washington. While previous conferences had centered around the question of political co-operation, the United States was now trying to center co-operation around the idea of trade.

The First Pan-American Conference (1889). The meeting in Washington in 1889 brought together representatives from every Latin-American nation, with the exception of the Dominican Republic. Here the representatives from all but one country met face to face and frankly discussed their relationships. Misunderstandings were many. The two fundamental ideas of Blaine, the arbitration of disputes and the establishment of a customs union which would eliminate tariffs between American nations, were both defeated after months of discussion. Few countries were willing to promise to settle all their disputes by arbitration. As for an American customs union, the Latin-American nations were afraid that agreement to any special tariff arrangements with the United States might bring retaliation from European countries, on which they depended for much of their trade. Many practical Pan-American questions, such as a Pan-American railroad, Pan-American bank, and Pan-American customs union, were discussed. However, the

only practical result of the meeting was the organization of the Commercial Bureau of American Republics. This bureau developed into the now well-known Pan American Union. The word "Pan-America" was first used at the Washington Conference. It has become the popular name for the series of gatherings initiated in 1889 and now held on the average of every five years.

It was not long before the new Pan-American movement, developed under United States leadership, ran into strong head winds. These winds blew furiously all around the Caribbean Sea at the turn of the century. The storm at first centered around Cuba. The struggle between that island and the mother country, Spain, became so fierce that the United States could no longer remain neutral. With the aid of the United States, Spain was driven out of Cuba and America. When the Spanish disappeared, however, the United States soldiers remained in Cuba. That nation frankly told Cuba that the soldiers would not be withdrawn until the Cubans had written into their constitution an article, phrased by Senator Platt of Connecticut, authorizing the United States Government to intervene in the affairs of Cuba whenever that country showed itself unable to keep order. The Platt Amendment also stipulated that a naval base in Cuba should be leased to the United States. This aroused resentment in all Latin-American countries. A school of writers, led by the Uruguayan essayist, José Enrique Rodó, and the Argentine poet and historian, Manuel Ugarte, raised the cry of "Yankee Imperialism!"

United States Imperialism. This new expansionist movement was a part of the spirit of the times. The influence of a brilliant trio of young Americans had begun to have a practical effect on the international relations of the United States. This trio was composed of, first, young Theodore Roosevelt, who believed in speaking softly and carrying a big stick; second, Henry Cabot Lodge, who believed fanatically in the place of the scholar in politics; and third, Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, who was convinced that the United States was then ready to dominate the world by the adoption of the proper kind of naval strategy. About 1895 these three men began their propaganda to change the isolationist spirit in the United States to a program of world leadership. They poured out newspaper interviews, magazine articles, and learned tomes, all arguing for America's place as a world power. Luck was with them. At the turn of the century the assassination of President McKinley had put Theodore Roosevelt into the White House; Lodge had become the dominant power in the Senate; and Mahan was accepted as one of the greatest naval strategists of his day. Mahan had three main ideas: (1) that the United States should build the Panama Canal; (2) that it should gain control of all the islands of approach, both in the Atlantic and the Pacific; and (3) that it should enlarge its navy to equal any other in the world. In order to have his plans carried out, he had only to pass them on to the chief executive and the controlling power in the Senate—his two friends, Roosevelt and Lodge. In the execution of these plans the Platt Amend-

ment, including the granting of a naval station at Guantánamo Bay, was forced upon Cuba. The Panama Canal was begun after Panama had been aided in her revolt against Colombia. Critics who complained about the methods of President Roosevelt with Colombia and the United States Congress in pushing the canal scheme received this reply: "I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate. . . . In actual fact the canal would not have been built at all save for the action I took."

Two years after the canal incident President Roosevelt initiated the policy of intervening in the affairs of various Caribbean countries. Attention should be carefully fixed on this fundamental change in the Monroe Doctrine. President Monroe had not implied that the United States would intervene in Latin America. President Roosevelt said in his message to Congress in 1904, the following: "Chronic wrongdoing or an impotence which results in the general loosening of the ties of civilized society may require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, to the exercise of an international police power."

Interventions began soon after this pronouncement, the first of them financial in nature. United States bankers would make a loan to a Caribbean republic. In order to get the loan the country would agree that the United States Government might appoint its representative to collect the customs and administer the finances of the republic that received the loan. The bankers were thus assured of get-

ting their money back. One of the political parties in the country that had accepted the collector was sure to oppose this foreign interference and start a revolution. When the opposition started a revolt, the United States Government would send armed forces to protect its collector of customs and the financial interests of the New York banks that had made the loan. Thus the Washington collector of customs often brought in his wake armed intervention. Once the marines had landed in a country it was easy to argue that they could be helpful to the country if they would remain to build roads and improve the health of the people. This might seem good to the United States, but it was resented by the country that saw the foreign soldiers on the streets and along the country roads. In 1915 United States marines were landed in Haiti, where they remained in charge of the country until 1934. In 1915 United States marines were landed in the Dominican Republic and remained until 1924. In 1911 United States marines were landed in Nicaragua and remained there until 1932. All in all there were about thirty armed interventions of this kind in Latin America from 1900 to 1932.

The Mexico Conference (1901-1902). Good neighborliness was less apparent at the beginning of the twentieth century than ever before. When the Second Pan-American Conference met in Mexico in 1901, there were grave questions regarding the future of Pan-Americanism. Nevertheless, certain advances were made. The Pan American Union was strengthened and its work enlarged. The nations accepted as permanent the principle of

meeting together every four or five years to discuss their problems. A Pan-American railroad, a Pan-American dollar, and better Pan-American steamships were planned. The third conference was called to meet in Rio de Janeiro in 1906. Pan-Americanism faced a serious crisis with the United States dominance of the Caribbean growing rapidly. It was then that the third great American leader of Pan-Americanism, Elihu Root, took his place by the side of Clay and Blaine.

The Rio de Janeiro Conference (1906). Elihu Root was the greatest thinker of Theodore Roosevelt's administration. He was well-grounded in international law, and he had an international mind. Because he was not too proud of his part in forcing the Platt Amendment on Cuba, he determined to show his friendship to Latin America. When the tsar of Russia called the second Hague Peace Conference to meet in 1906, Root asked for its postponement because of a probable Pan-American conference in that year. The request was denied. After consulting with his chief, Root said that the United States could not participate in the Hague Conference, for the Secretary of State would at that time be attending the Third Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro. As a result, the Hague Conference was postponed until 1907. Thus there was formed in the Secretary's mind a double scheme. He would break all precedents and go in person to attend the conference at Rio. He would interest the Latin-American representatives in the coming Hague Conference. Then he would ask the Russian government to add these nations to the list of the countries

invited to the Hague. So it happened that the conference at Rio marked not only an advance in Pan-American relations, but also opened to the Latin-American nations a place at the conference table of the countries of the world.

Not since Clay's famous appeal in 1820 had an address on Pan-American questions made such a profound impression as did Root's address to the conference at Rio in 1906.

I bring from my country a special greeting to her elder sister in the civilization of America. We wish for no victories but those of peace, for no territory except our own. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitle it to as much respect as those of the greatest empire.

Latin Americans hoped that these beautiful words might become the living policy of their great Northern neighbor.

The Buenos Aires Conference (1910). The Fourth Pan-American Conference met in Buenos Aires in 1910. That was a great date in American history. One hundred years before, Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile, and other Latin-American republics had declared their independence from Spain. The conference was largely taken up by the celebration of this great event. Enough time was taken from the gala banquets and fiestas to sign four treaties providing for co-operation in the registration of trade marks, the protection of copyrights, the arbitration of debts, and the interchange of professors and students. An effort was made by Brazil to get the conference to pass a resolution commending the United States

for promulgating the Monroe Doctrine. The conference, however, refused to accept the recommendation. By this time Latin America was quite sure that the original idea of the doctrine as a warning to Europe had now changed into the idea that the United States must assume responsibility for all the nations of the continent.

The Santiago Conference (1923). The Fifth Pan-American Conference was scheduled to meet at Santiago, Chile, in 1914. In July of that year the first World War began. The American Continent was so divided that no conference could be held in spite of the urgent necessity of taking a common stand in regard to the war in Europe. When the fifth conference finally assembled in 1923, it looked upon a completely new world. The League of Nations had been formed, and Latin-American nations had joined with enthusiasm. Unfortunately the United States had refused to become a member. This drew another line of division between North and South. The meeting, however, registered a number of advances in international organization. Social questions were introduced; health problems were discussed; and the Gondra Peace Treaty, the first pact approved by a Pan-American conference providing for a definite plan to settle peacefully the disputes among American nations, was approved. Uruguay proposed an American League of Nations, but the proposal was defeated. Latin-American delegates next proposed a re-organization of the Pan American Union to give the Latin-American countries a larger

voice in its direction. They advanced only a few degrees in this matter. The conference closed without much enthusiasm for the Pan-American movement.

Further Division among Neighbors. One of the greatest disappointments of the Latin Americans at Santiago was the announcement by the United States delegates that the Monroe Doctrine was a unilateral, or one-sided doctrine to be interpreted only by the United States. Secretary of State Hughes confirmed this statement of the American delegation in an address given in the United States a few months after the Santiago meeting. In 1927 the Latin Americans became still more concerned when, after having withdrawn the marines from Nicaragua for a few months, President Coolidge sent them back again. Russian Communists were reported as becoming an influence in Nicaragua. President Coolidge declared that wherever there was a citizen of the United States, or property belonging to the United States, there was a section of the United States. He also said: "The legions which she [the United States] sends forth are armed not with the sword but with the cross. She cherishes no purpose save to merit the favors of Almighty God."

The Habana Conference (1928). The Sixth Pan-American Conference met in Habana in January, 1928. President Coolidge himself attended the opening session. Mr. Charles Evans Hughes headed the United States delegation. Three suggestions were immediately presented by the Latin Americans. The first related to the reorganization of the Pan American

Union. It will be remembered that the Pan American Union started out as a bureau of commercial relations. Later, the Latin Americans desired that it become an American League of Nations, which should arbitrate disputes and take care of other political questions. The United States had always objected to such an enlargement of the union. At Habana the Latin-American countries agreed that the union should not discuss political questions because they were fearful that an organization dominated by the United States would make decisions on political matters following the opinions of the United States.

We have seen that the first question before the Habana conference was: Shall the Pan American Union discuss political affairs? The answer to that was that the union would not be allowed to do so. The second question was: Shall the Pan American Union be given authority to determine economic and tariff questions? The Argentine delegation said that the union could not be of any vital use to the American nations unless it vigorously attacked the question of tariffs and commercial exchange. Mr. Hughes replied that tariffs were the business of each individual country. For the Pan American Union to endeavor to suggest to single nations what their tariff policy should be would wreck the union. The chairman of the Argentine delegation resigned, but the decision not to attempt any tariff adjustments remained. The third question was: Shall the American countries permit the intervention by one nation in the affairs of another American republic? The question

was bitterly debated. The United States delegation defended, and various Latin-American countries attacked the practices of the United States in sending its armed forces into Southern countries. On the final day of the conference, with no possibility of an understanding, it was decided to place this question on the agenda of the next conference, which was scheduled for Montevideo in 1933.

In the year following the Habana conference occurred the crash in Wall Street. The whole scene in the United States changed. No longer were the banks of this country overcrowded with money which they desired to loan to other nations. No longer did this nation believe that it had reached the acme of efficiency in government and the highest place in civilization. All of a sudden the United States faced the same kind of difficulty that other nations had faced. People lost their fortunes overnight. Millions of unemployed filled the streets. A hungry army moved on Washington to demand food and work. Neither the government at Washington nor the ordinary citizen was interested any longer in reforming the rest of the world. Egoism was deflated. We began to think about calling home the marines from the Caribbean republics. We had our own problems to solve. It was under these circumstances that President Franklin D. Roosevelt was inducted into office. It was while the banks of the United States were closed and the country was grappling with fear that the President declared, as already quoted: "I dedicate this country to the policy of the good neighbor."

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This again takes us back to the life of the community and the individual. Neighbors that are prosperous may be indifferent to other neighbors. But in mutual suffering the fundamental desire for friendly, neighborly attitudes comes to the surface.

On a cold November afternoon in 1933, a group of delegates sailed out of New York harbor for the eighteen-day trip down to Montevideo. The chairman of the United States delegation was a quiet-voiced, dignified, gray-haired gentleman from Tennessee. His name was Cordell Hull. He had just become Secretary of State. The successor, in Pan-American leadership, of Henry Clay, James G. Blaine, and Elihu Root, he was destined to remain in the game for a long period and to accomplish more than any of the other three. He had very little preparation in diplomacy. But he knew how to win the confidence of his neighbors. He felt profoundly the importance of improving relations on the American Continent as a means of lifting the world out of the depression. The trip down to Montevideo proved to be, in itself, a miniature Pan-American conference. On board were the North American delegates, a large group of newspaper reporters and observers of peace movements, and delegations from various Latin-American countries, including Cuba and Haiti. The United States Government had refused to recognize the Cuban government under President Grau San Martín. United States intervention in Haiti was still in effect. The war between Bolivia and Paraguay over the boundary dispute in the Chaco territory was at its height. The London economic conference had recently

closed with complete failure. The world was in the doldrums. Few people expected the Montevideo gathering to accomplish anything of importance.

The Montevideo Conference (1933). On arriving at Montevideo, Secretary Hull introduced a new procedure for a United States delegation. Instead of waiting for Latin Americans to call on him, he went out personally to meet the head of each Latin-American delegation. By the time the conference had its opening session, Mr. Hull had won the friendship of the delegations. He began immediately to clear up former misunderstandings. He made it known, first of all, that the United States delegation was not in Montevideo to force the collection of debts. This came as a surprise to the other delegates. Latin-American countries had borrowed immense sums of money from the United States following the first World War. When the depression came and the United States erected higher tariff walls through the Hawley-Smoot bill in 1930, the Latin-American countries found it impossible to pay even the interest on these debts. The fact that the United States delegation at Montevideo did not press this subject greatly surprised the Southerners. Greater was their surprise when Mr. Hull, reversing the declaration of Charles Evans Hughes at Habana, announced that he would like to discuss with the Latin-American countries the question of tariffs. The conference was pleased with this attitude. It passed a recommendation that American countries should enter into agreements for the mutual lowering of tariffs. This proposal, approved by the conference, was after-

ward approved by the United States Congress and thus initiated what later became the famous Hull Trade Agreements.

The next important question was the machinery for settling disputes among American countries. Following the Habana meeting in 1928 a conference on arbitration was held at Washington under the leadership of Charles Evans Hughes. Two treaties, one on arbitration and one on conciliation, were adopted. These marked a considerable advance over the Gondra Peace Treaty approved at Santiago in 1923. In 1928 the United States had negotiated with other nations the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact, which was signed by a number of Latin-American countries. Argentina felt that the pact was too indefinite in the matter of settling disputes, so she initiated the Argentine Peace Pact. Several South American countries had signed this pact just before the meeting at Montevideo. Notwithstanding these five peace treaties, Paraguay and Bolivia were in mortal struggle over the Chaco territory. It was clear that the peace machinery on the American continent was not efficient. Mr. Hull, therefore, worked in co-operation with various other delegations to secure the promise of every American country to sign all five of these peace treaties. The day that the nations made this pledge was one of the highest moments of the Montevideo meeting. Peace efforts were further strengthened by inviting a commission from the League of Nations to be present at a session of this Pan-American conference. Up to this time, the League of Nations and the Pan American Union had

been rivals in their efforts to settle disputes. Someone humorously remarked that the Chaco War would never be settled until the Nobel Peace Prize was abolished. Not only was there rivalry among statesmen as to who would win the peace prize, but the League of Nations and the Pan American Union were also rivals in trying to settle the Chaco dispute. To have these two organizations meet on a common platform, therefore, brought to a new height the effort to arbitrate disputes.

The next important question which the meeting faced was intervention. For the first time in the history of the conferences the matter was frankly discussed. Secretary Hull was not anxious to meet the issue. It had ruined many a diplomat. But he had stated that the conference ought to discuss any problem that was of interest to the American continent. Therefore, he did not attempt to prevent the presentation of a treaty proposed by Cuba on the rights and duties of states. Article Six of this treaty stated very clearly "no nation shall intervene in the internal or external affairs of another nation."

The debate on intervention at the Montevideo conference offered one of the most exciting afternoons in the history of Pan-Americanism. Every delegate was at attention. The visitors' gallery was crowded. The Foreign Office of every American and European country was at attention. The representative of each country answered the roll call with an address on the subject. Delegates from countries that had suffered from the imposition of the armed forces of their Northern neighbor spoke with deep

feeling of the evil of such intervention. The representative from Mexico made a strong appeal to Secretary Hull: "What would your great country lose, Mr. Secretary, if you would now say to Latin America that we need not fear any longer the coming of your soldiers to our lands?" Then Cordell Hull showed himself to be a great man. He ignored his prepared address. He overwhelmed the audience with profound respect for himself and for his nation when he declared: "The United States votes for the treaty."

Not since December 2, 1823, when President Monroe announced the protection of the American continent from European aggression, had there been a greater moment in Pan-American relationships. The currents of a century were changed. The Good Neighbor Policy from that moment became a reality. President Roosevelt immediately backed Mr. Hull's action in an address given on the birthday of Woodrow Wilson. The United States Senate, a few months later, put its stamp of approval on Mr. Hull's bold action by voting to approve the treaty. From that day it became the law of the land. The United States, by its own free will, thus renounced its self-imposed position as policeman on the American continent.

Already the difference between the Seventh Pan-American Conference and the previous ones was evident. In its three-weeks' sessions, it made that mysterious thing called foreign policy. It showed also what one man, with a firm purpose, can do, for several members of Secretary Hull's delegation were against his liberal moves. By reviewing those actions, one rec-

ognizes the fundamental changes made in the Pan-American movement by the gathering in the capital of Uruguay.

First, the United States declared that it would not oppose the discussion of any subject of interest to the American continent. Its delegation had said at Santiago, in 1923, that the conference should not discuss the Monroe Doctrine. At Habana, in 1928, the conference was told that it should not discuss tariffs. In 1933, however, the conference was left free to determine what subjects it would discuss. The conference was informed that the United States delegation did not represent the bankers. Tariffs were admitted as an international subject to be arranged by friendly consultation among the interested nations. Peace machinery should be strengthened in order to stop the Paraguay-Bolivia war and to prevent others. Finally, the United States promised not to send its armed forces again into the territories of its neighbors. This last decision was the greatest of all. It represents a fundamental principle in the development of good relationships among families as well as nations.

Inter-American Peace Conference (1936). Neighbor nations in the New World had no sooner begun truly to co-operate than the Old World again threatened them. Just as the old Holy Alliance of absolute monarchies organized against the fledgling republics of a century ago, a new alliance calling itself the Axis, composed of Germany, Italy, and Japan, now arose to threaten the democratic way of life in the Americas. President Franklin D. Roosevelt found himself in the

same situation as was President James Monroe in 1823. Unfortunately, the threat now was much more serious than it was when Prussia, Austria, and Russia faintly cried, "Down with democracy," a hundred years ago.

By 1936 the Axis governments had organized a drive for the control of Latin America through propaganda, exchange of students, and trade concessions. President Roosevelt, conscious of this danger, invited the American republics to meet in special conference at Buenos Aires in December of 1936. The President himself, along with a large delegation headed by Secretary Hull, made the 6,000-mile journey to the capital of Argentina. He opened the meeting and pleaded for a unified defense of democracy. "We have been busy in the past promoting our independence," declared Mr. Roosevelt, "now our great task is the developing of interdependence." During his forty-eight-hour stay in Buenos Aires he was enthusiastically hailed as the "Shepherd of Democracy."

Two new phrases were coined in Buenos Aires, "continental solidarity" and "continental defense." After insisting for many decades that the Monroe Doctrine was unilateral and that the Pan American Union should not be empowered to deal with political questions, the United States now reversed its stand. It insisted that machinery should be created to enable all American republics to unite in mutual defense of their territory. Argentina, the other American country that had been cool toward Pan-American political organization, was not so easily converted. Her minister of foreign affairs had just returned

from Europe. There he had served as president of the Assembly of the League of Nations and had received the Nobel Peace Prize. He contended, as had his country's delegates at the Washington conference in 1889, that nothing should be done that might offend European friends and customers. The proposal of Brazil for the "continentalizing of the Monroe Doctrine"—a pledge by each republic for whole-hearted co-operation to defend the whole continent—was not carried. Secretary Hull, against the demands of other delegations, refused to force the issue. He did not want to divide the conference. An opening wedge for continental co-operation was found by the endorsement of a Convention for the Maintenance of Peace. This timidly suggested the principle of consultation, which was to become effective during the second World War.

Honest differences of opinion concerning Pan-American peace machinery did not prevent a great advance toward understanding and friendship. For the first time a frank, unhurried discussion was conducted about the need for an American League of Nations and an American Court of Justice. The highly explosive questions of the collection of debts and of armaments were amicably debated. The actions taken at Montevideo in regard to non-intervention and the Hull Trade Agreements were reaffirmed and strengthened. The United States definitely entered the program of cultural exchange by preparing a treaty providing for governmental financing of exchange of students and professors. "A Pan-American Moral Code" was adopted at the suggestion of the

Central American republics. This embodied the following principles:

(a) No acquisition of territory through violence shall be recognized

(b) Intervention by one state in the affairs of another state is condemned

(c) Forcible collection of debts is illegal

(d) Disputes between the American nations shall be settled by arbitration.

The spirit of the conference, so different from the old days of constant suspicion, was shown in the spontaneous words of a Cuban delegate on the signing of the first of the five peace pacts:

We see in these agreements not simply a political act of American concord, but the expression of a guiding principle for the future of the world. America by its example inspires the peace of the world. It shows by deed how twenty-one nations can live unitedly within the principle of mutual regard. Here is something superior, something beyond and above ourselves, which is imposed upon us Americans as is a great duty. If in his land, which the modern age has placed in the hands of Western man, we cannot discover formulas of peace for the developing of civilization through the principles of liberty and the decorous behavior of man—well, that would be something which the human mind cannot understand! We, in the act of signing this peace treaty, return to nature the immense riches of this American soil, creator of rights; we comply with the historic law of compensation, returning to God in noble efforts that which God has given to us through these magnificent, heroic, and beautiful lands.

The Lima Conference. In November, 1938, Secretary Hull and his delegation again boarded a steamer in New York. This would be his third Pan-American conference. But the

liner was held at the dock until the United States ambassador, hurrying home from Berlin, could come aboard for a conference with the Secretary of State. Germany had thrust itself squarely into the center of the Pan-American picture. The Eighth International Conference of American States was meeting under the shadows cast at Munich a few weeks earlier. For the first time since the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States could no longer count on the British fleet for aid in enforcing the doctrine. Rumor even reported that some of the American countries themselves were about to go over to the Hitler camp. Those were grave days.

"Let us make such a shout for democracy that it will be heard the world around," said Secretary Hull to a friend, as he journeyed to Lima. On arrival at the Peruvian capital, the Secretary continued his custom of calling on the delegates. It was fortunate that most of them were now personal friends, for he needed them in the three strenuous weeks ahead. In these private talks Mr. Hull told the delegates that the totalitarians were planning to attack America. Japan had started by taking over Manchuria, and had then attacked China directly. Mussolini had entered Ethiopia. He was now spreading out along the Mediterranean. Hitler had begun his aggressions by taking Austria, then Czechoslovakia. After this came the European war and its threat to America.

At the opening session Mr. Hull presented his views in a fiery speech, warning of the continent's danger. The Argentine minister of foreign af-

fairs, Dr. José María Cantilo, followed. He admitted that America should be united. But he thought no unifying action was needed until there was a clear demonstration that the continent was threatened. The speeches of these two men plainly showed the opposing stands of the United States and Argentina concerning continental unity.

The next day six commissions were appointed to draw up resolutions. They began to work on the questions of the organization of peace, international law, economic problems, political and civil rights of women, intellectual co-operation, and the enlargement of the Pan American Union. The first resolution adopted was a re-affirmation of the principles of the Hull Trade Agreements first adopted at Montevideo. This greatly pleased Mr. Hull. There was feverish excitement pervading the meetings of the Commission on the Organization of Peace. Here the question of continental defense against the attack of the Axis was being debated. The delegations, with the exception of those from southern South America, wanted to take a strong stand against the totalitarians and their fifth-column activities. Argentina, however, with her doctrine of universality, refused to accept anything but a promise to consult if and when inter-American peace should be threatened.

A Document and a Milestone. During the last week of the conference every day was supposed to bring the signature to the Lima Declaration of American Principles. At last, at nearly nine o'clock of the last evening, the final session was called to order, and the Lima Declaration was read and

signed. This document declared that the American continent, united by spiritual ties and a common devotion to democracy, would co-operate in the defense of the continent if any part of it were attacked. The vague agreement for consultation made at Buenos Aires in 1936 was strengthened. This was done by a provision that the ministers of foreign affairs of the American republics would meet for consultation at any time they should feel it necessary for the protection of the continent. The Lima Declaration, with its inauguration of a plan for political action, is the most important document adopted by the American nations during their century of conferences. The following points, slightly edited, are the most important parts of the famous Declaration of American Principles:

The peoples of America have achieved spiritual unity through the similarity of their republican institutions, their unshakable will for peace, their profound sentiment of humanity and tolerance and through their absolute adherence to the principles of international law, of equal sovereignty of States and of individual liberty, without religious or racial prejudices.

On the basis of such principles, they seek and defend the peace of the continent and work together in the cause of universal concord.

In case the peace, security, or territorial integrity of any American republic is threatened by acts of any nature that may imperil them, they proclaim their common concern and their determination to make effective their solidarity, co-ordinating their respective sovereign wills by means of procedure of consultation established by conventions in force and by declarations of inter-American conferences, using measures which in each case circumstances may make advisable.

In order to facilitate consultations estab-

lished in this and other American peace instruments, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics, when deemed advisable and at the initiative of any of them, will meet for consultation in one of their several capitals.

While discussion concerning continental solidarity overwhelmed the Lima meeting, interest in the many-sided Pan-American movement was demonstrated at every turn.

The Panama Consultation. War in Europe was to prove the vitality of the promise of all the American republics to hold consultations if the safety of the continent were endangered. Adolf Hitler marched on Poland, September 2, 1939. Three weeks later the ministers of foreign affairs of all the twenty-one republics, or their representatives, had arrived by airplane in Panama. Never before had an inter-American conference taken such swift, united, decisive steps toward continental solidarity. During the first World War the continent was so divided that no conference was held. This gathering at Panama initiated a new kind of inter-American conference called the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American States. According to the Lima Declaration these meetings might be called at the request of any one of the foreign ministers. They might consider any problem connected with the defense of the continent. In other words, the Monroe Doctrine had finally come to be the concern of all twenty-one republics. The Nazi threat seemed, in one way, to have served America. About this time a Latin-American ambassador at Washington humorously remarked that a statue to Adolf Hitler should be

erected in the Pan American Union, because he had compelled the American nations to unite!

The Panama meeting in 1939 was the beginning of a new demonstration of this unity. It was to grow rapidly in the next few years. Three important actions were taken at Panama. First, all the twenty-one nations declared their neutrality in regard to the European conflict. To enforce this neutrality, a "safety zone" was outlined around the continent, on an average of about three hundred miles from shore, within which belligerents were requested not to bring their fighting. South American countries had suggested this action in the first World War. With the newly acquired unity it became a continental policy. As Brazil said, the fact that such a zone was not accepted by the European belligerents does not lessen its importance as a new application of the Monroe Doctrine. The Panama meeting appointed two permanent committees: The Inter-American Neutrality Committee, to consider questions related to America's neutrality, which soon began regular sessions in Rio de Janeiro; and the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, with representation from each of the twenty-one republics, which soon began its weekly meetings at the Pan American Union building in Washington. It has become one of the most continuously vigorous organizations in the Pan-American system.

Dunkirk Leads to Habana. In less than a year after the Panama Consultation Meeting, the European war moved into a new stage. Germany conquered France and Holland. Eng-

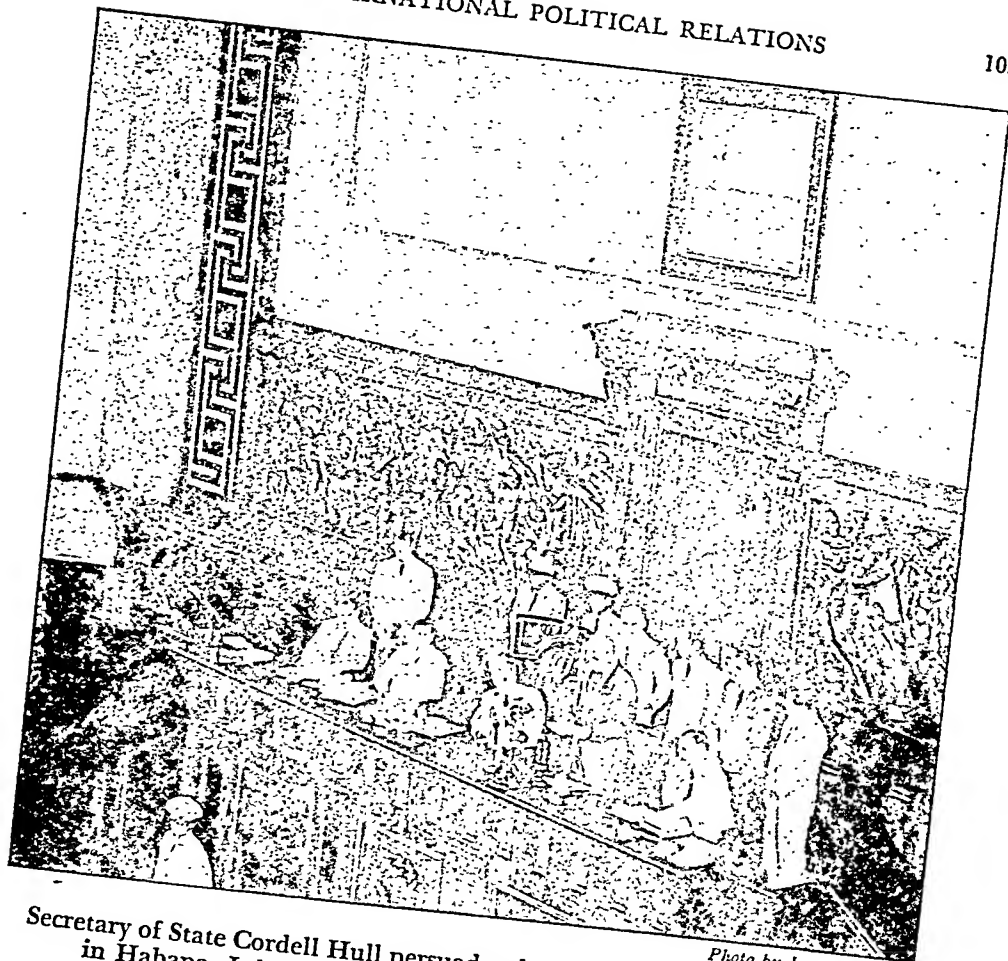


Photo by James Sawders

Secretary of State Cordell Hull persuades the Pan-American Congress, held in Habana, July 21-30, 1940, to unite against the Axis Powers.

land was threatened. All three of these countries had American colonies. Curaçao and two other islands north of Venezuela belonged to Holland. They were dangerously near the Panama Canal. Martinique and a chain of French islands were in strategic positions in the Caribbean. Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Honduras, all belonging to England, all bore a strategic relationship to the American Continent. So also did Dutch, French, and British Guiana. What would happen if Hitler, having

conquered the mother countries, were to demand that all of these possessions be turned over to him?

Again Cordell Hull and the other ministers of foreign affairs made a hurried trip to consult together. This time they met at Habana, July 21 to 30, in 1940. The heat was trying. But results were satisfactory for the Monroe Doctrine was again saved, and Pan-American peace machinery was expanded. Two important decisions were made. The Act of Habana provided that an Inter-American Com-

mission be organized to take over, for provisional administration, all European possessions in the Americas, in the event that they were in danger of being transferred to any other nation outside of America. In former times the United States would have handled this whole matter without consultation with the other American republics. But in 1940 it was not so. Our neighbors had been taken into partnership in the defense of the continent. In this connection a similar Pan-American gesture should be recalled in reference to an arrangement between the United States and Great Britain. When the latter nation turned over to the United States eight military bases in the Atlantic in exchange for fifty-four United States destroyers, the Washington government immediately announced that these bases would be open to all American republics as well as to the United States.

The second action at Habana was to prove of greatest importance in the light of later events. This was the declaration that:

Any attempt on the part of a non-American state against the integrity . . . or political independence of an American state shall be considered as an act of aggression against the states which sign this declaration.

Many citizens of the United States and other American republics gave Secretary Hull and his colleagues little credit for such theoretical preparation for joint defense of the continent. Attack on America by an outside foe was impossible, they thought. But a rude awakening came on the quiet Sunday morning of December 7, 1941. Thousands of United States citizens

were killed, battleships were sunk, and aircraft were destroyed when the Japanese swept swiftly down on peaceful Pearl Harbor.

The shock extended all over the continent. Little Costa Rica, whose position near the Canal Zone gave her a strategic importance far beyond her size, declared war on the Axis before the United States Congress could assemble for such a purpose. The five Central American republics followed suit. Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela at once broke diplomatic relations with the Axis. At the request of Chile the Pan American Union called the third meeting of the American ministers of foreign affairs, in Rio de Janeiro, January 15 to 30, 1942.

The Rio de Janeiro Meeting. "The men who have fallen in Wake and the Philippines . . . have not fallen only to defend the honor and sovereignty of the United States. They have also fallen to defend the human liberties and the common destinies of America." So spoke Mexico's minister of foreign affairs, Ezequiel Padilla, at the opening session of the third meeting of ministers of foreign affairs at Rio de Janeiro, January 15 to 28, 1942. Continuing, he pleaded for a continental organization "not only of an economy but at the same time of an American moral entity, so that we will be able to prove that we are not only interested in the construction of shipyards and airplanes, but also in the development and progress of the free men of America."

The cause of international government received a great lift at the Rio meeting. Provision was made for pooling the economic life of the United

EUROPE AND THE U.S. IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

GREENLAND (DAN.)
AND FALKLAND IS. (BR.)
ARE NOT SHOWN

CANADA

NEW FOUNDLAND
AND LABRADOR

ST. JOHNS

MIQUELON I (FR)
ST. PIERRE I (FR)

BOSTON

NEW YORK

NORFOLK

U. S. A.

PENSACOLA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

GULF
OF
MEXICO

KEY WEST

BAHAMAS

GUANTANAMO

DOMINICAN
REPUBLIC

LEEWARD IS.

MEXICO

BRITISH
HONDURAS (BELIZE)

JAMAICA (BR)

HAITI

PUERTO RICO

ANTIGUA (BR)

GUADELOUPE (FR)

MARTINIQUE (FR)

ST. LUCIA (BR)

BARBADOS (BR)

CARIBBEAN SEA

NICARAGUA

ARUBA (NETH) CURAÇAO (NETH)

BOINAIRE (NETH)

TRINIDAD (BR)

CANAL ZONE

PANAMA

VENEZUELA

COLOMBIA

GUIANAS
(BR) (NETH) (FR)

PACIFIC OCEAN

KEY

- EXISTING U.S. NAVAL & AIR BASES
- BASES LEASED BY U.S.
- AREAS BELONGING TO THE AMERICAS
- AREAS BELONGING TO EUROPEAN NATIONS

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States and Latin America in order to win the war. Every American republic pledged itself to hemisphere defense. Plans were made for tropical America to furnish the supplies lately cut off by the Japanese invasion of the East Indies. The total output of the strategic raw materials of Latin America was to go to the United States, and all former supplies of such materials were to be cut off from the Axis. Five hundred thousand tons of new shipping were provided for the United States and her allies by taking over the Axis ships interned in Latin America. The Rio meeting tied up Axis funds in America. It advanced a movement to eliminate tariffs on all defense materials during the war. This is a step taken toward the organization of an inter-American customs union. There was also a movement toward the development of a common Pan-American trade dollar for the continent. Provision was made for the financing and rushing to completion of the Pan-American Highway. The meeting approved a sweeping program of public works that means new business for every one of the American republics.

At Rio, in 1942, representatives from every nation were present. Before the Rio conference had adjourned, Brazil, Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador announced that they had given orders to Axis diplomats to haul down their flags, close their embassies, and leave for home. This left only Chile and Argentina waiting to decide definitely whether they would break relations with the Axis. These two South American countries had already given real aid to the cause of the United Nations by

declaring that the United States should not be treated as a belligerent, and should receive the total supply of their products needed for the war effort. Chile broke relations with the Axis early in 1943. But Argentina held out until January, 1944, before severing connections with the Axis.

The delegates at the Rio meeting piled one action on top of the other in their efforts to back the democracies. They reiterated the declaration that an aggression against one American country was an aggression against all. They declared that no American nation would re-establish relations with the Axis without consulting with her sister republics. The Pan American Union was strengthened and suggestions were made for the calling of a conference to plan a Pan-American postwar program.

During the conference at Rio the boundary dispute between Peru and Ecuador, which had been threatening continental peace, was settled. At the same time Bolivia agreed to pay for the oil fields she had confiscated from the Standard Oil Company. The United States announced that seventy-five of her experts on health and tropical agriculture were ready to begin work on the development of the Amazon Valley. The most remarkable of all the mutually helpful agreements was the one made with Mexico. This involved the settlement of the claims of North American citizens for the expropriation by Mexico of agricultural and petroleum properties. These claims had been the cause of suspicion and threats of war between the two countries for a quarter of a century. Mexico agreed to pay a minimum sum to the owners of the prop-

erties. The United States agreed to aid Mexico in establishing a steel mill, in finishing her share of the Pan-American Highway, and in improving her railroads so that needed raw products could be more quickly rushed across the border. The Rio meeting unanimously endorsed the Atlantic Charter, in which President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had stated the war aims of the democracies. These included the acquiring of no conquered territory, no superimposed government by foreign powers, free access by all States, great or small, to the trade and raw materials of the world, improved labor standards, and a wider system to guarantee peace and "to afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

THE PAN-AMERICAN SYSTEM TODAY

We have followed the ups and downs, the achievements and the failures of American neighbors in a century of effort to build a neighborhood. We have watched the enthusiasm for the movement among Latin Americans and their failure because of divisions among themselves. We have seen the United States start out with the Monroe Doctrine, turn it into the doctrine of manifest destiny, then into imperialism and money diplomacy. But it was now to change into modern democracy. Driven by the sufferings of a world depression and the second World War, we have witnessed the most remarkable change ever recorded in history in the foreign policy of a great nation. In seven short years the United States completely reversed its policy toward the

other American republics. Many of the old prejudices still remain. The overwhelming number of both North Americans and Latin Americans are ignorant and indifferent in regard to the real meaning of Pan-Americanism. But enough of the dreams of Simón Bolívar and Henry Clay have been realized for us now to pause for another appraisal.

On April 17, 1940, the Pan American Union celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. On this occasion President Roosevelt declared:

This success in Pan-American co-operation in the Western Hemisphere is sometimes attributed to good fortune. I do not share that view. There are not wanting here all of the usual rivalries, all of the normal human desires for power and expansion, all of the commercial problems . . . What was it that has protected us from the tragic involvements which are today making the Old World a new cockpit of old struggles? The answer is easily found . . . a new and powerful ideal . . . that of a community of nations . . . Gradually it brought together the Pan-American group of governments. If that process can be successful here, is it too much to hope that a similar intellectual process may succeed elsewhere?

One of the most popular spots in Washington, D. C., is the impressive home of the Pan American Union. Delegations of young people from schools in all parts of America are among the delighted visitors. The very architecture of the building is an expression of inter-American understanding. Coming through the front door, one enters the large patio, with its bubbling fountain, its brilliantly colored parrots, and the monuments to great Pan-American leaders like Bolívar, San Martín, and Henry Clay. Ascending the stairs, one finds the

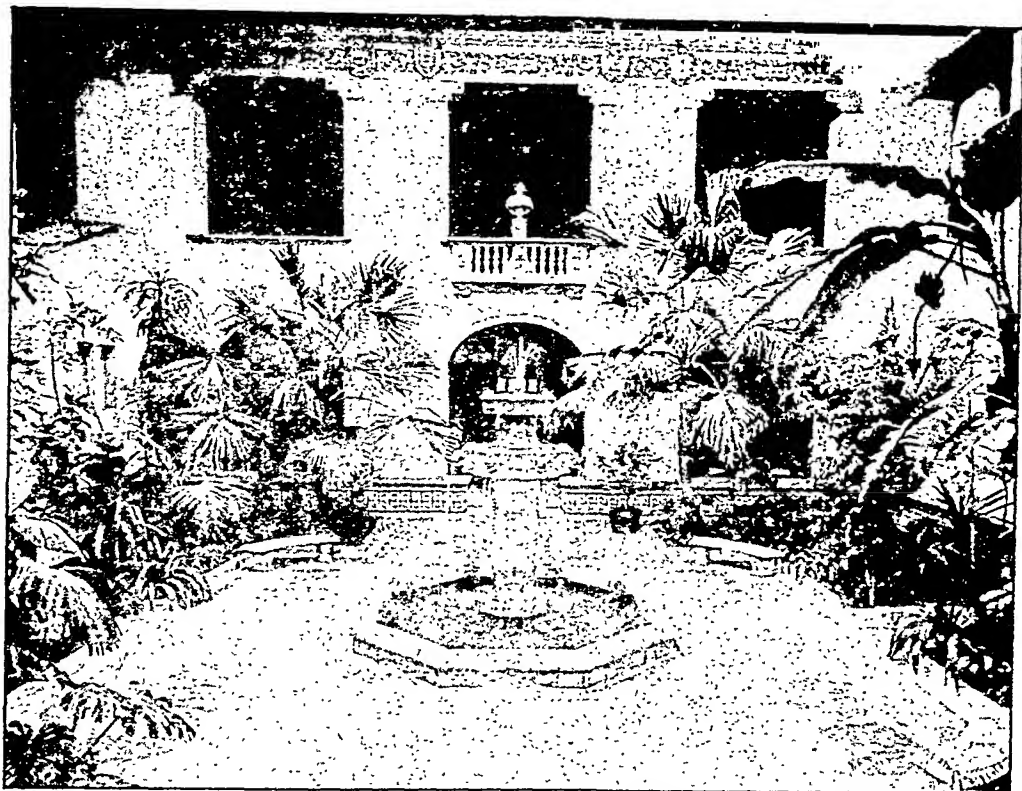


Photo from Acme

The patio of the Pan American Union building in Washington, D. C., is suggestive, in architectural design and ornamentation, of Latin America.

Hall of the Americas, where notable American gatherings are held. On the first floor is the imposing library, with newspapers and books from all Latin America. On this same floor are the offices of the various sections and the great relief map of the continent, around which a crowd of students is always gathered.

Functions of the Pan American Union. The Pan American Union is the international organization created by the twenty-one American republics for the purpose of promoting friendly intercourse, peace, and commerce between those nations. Its affairs are directed by a governing board composed of the Secretary of State of the United States and the twenty diplomatic rep-

resentatives from the Latin-American republics. It is supported by contributions from all the countries in amounts proportionate to population. The secretariat numbers some one hundred twenty-five persons. The annual budget is around \$300,000. It draws its authority from the official Pan-American conferences and serves as their permanent organ, carrying out the instructions given by the governments through these conferences. Its functions have been gradually enlarged until the union is looked upon as the clearing house of practically all official inter-American business. It is the hub of the Pan-American movement. Activities are carried on under the following divisions: foreign trade,

statistics, finance, agricultural co-operation, labor, juridical questions, travel, intellectual co-operation, and music. The union has no constitution. Member states can withdraw at any time they so desire.

How the Pan-American Conference Works. It is a mistake, however, to consider the Pan American Union as an American League of Nations. It has no power, as the Geneva League of Nations had, to settle disputes among nations. Its work is limited to distributing information about the American republics, and to acting as the secretariat of the official Pan-American conferences. These conferences have reserved for themselves the real power to deal with Pan-American problems. They meet on an average of every five years. They are not held together by any written constitution or treaty agreement. They carry on proceedings by working through commissions on such subjects as organization of peace, juridical questions, economic problems, social questions, and cultural exchange. Major agreements are usually expressed in treaties. Declarations and resolutions also express the desires of these conferences, which are referred for their execution either to the various participating governments or to the Pan American Union. The first of this series of meetings, usually called Pan-American Conferences, took place in Washington in 1889-1890.

Besides the regular Pan-American conferences, there have been set up special organizations which remain under the direct control of the co-operating governments and are not placed under the Pan American Union. The most important of these

is the machinery for consultation which provides for meetings of ministers of foreign affairs. The three meetings so far held under this provision, adopted at the Eighth Pan-American Conference, provided three special standing commissions: (1) Inter-American Neutrality Committee, (2) Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Commission, and (3) Inter-American Commission for Territorial Administration. Other of the important bodies previously appointed include the Pan-American Highway Financial Commission and the Commission of Experts for the Codification of International Law.

Co-operation through Peace Treaties. Eleven inter-American peace treaties have been approved for arbitration, conciliation, and mediation for the settlement of inter-American disputes. The fact that none of these treaties has been adopted by all of the American countries marks a weakness in the American peace system.

Economic Co-operation. From the beginning of the Pan-American conferences, economic questions have been prominent. The greatest progress in these matters has been made through special conferences of economic experts. At the Seventh Conference in 1933 Secretary Cordell Hull introduced his plan for trade agreements, providing for the reduction of tariffs and the elimination of other trade barriers. During the second World War machinery for economic co-operation was greatly expanded.

Social and Health Problems. Co-operation in this field is maintained through the well-organized Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, with headquarters in the Pan American Union

building in Washington; the International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, with headquarters in Montevideo; the Inter-American Institute of Leprosy, Rio de Janeiro; the Inter-American Commission of Women, Washington; and numerous other official and unofficial organizations. The International Labor Office is becoming increasingly effective in serving the American republics in this field.

Cultural Exchange. The Pan-American conferences have recommended an elaborate program for cultural exchange. This includes provision for exchange of professors and students, rewriting of history texts, preservation of national monuments, and exchange of art, music, and radio programs. Educational conferences have been fostered by the Pan American Union, which maintains important activities through its division on intellectual co-operation.

It will be seen that the Pan-American Peace Organization is working under six different headings. Unlike the League of Nations these are not bound together in one organization. The fear of entrusting too large responsibilities to the Pan American Union has led the governments to set up their own machinery outside of the union, for the purpose of carrying out certain schemes for economic, social, and cultural interchange.

The weakness of the Pan-American system is found in the unwillingness of the governments to place it upon a permanent basis. The American re-

publics have not yet come to know each other well enough completely to trust each other. The economic interests of each republic have not yet been so thoroughly co-ordinated with those of the other republics that all are willing to enter into a vital unity. Progress during recent years, however, gives hope for still further advance.

Inter-American Association of Nations. The high tide of neighborliness was reached at a time when all American republics had to defend themselves against the Axis. The pessimists had been claiming that there was no real kinship between North America and Latin America. They said that Southerners really preferred Europe to the United States; that they preferred dictatorship to democracy; that they liked to trade with Europe, but not with the United States. But in the crucible of war the neighbors showed the three characteristics emphasized by Franklin D. Roosevelt, James Monroe, and Simón Bolívar—natural friendliness, neighborly organization for mutual help, and resistance to foreign aggression. President Alfonso López of Colombia, on his visit to Washington in July, 1942, said that favorable circumstances like these should be seized to inaugurate a real American Association of Nations. Such an association is needed to make permanent the recent developments in the political, economic, and cultural fields of continental co-operation. It could be consummated by making more effective the various Pan-American organizations now in existence.

Note: This is a good time to choose your Course Essay topic, mentioned in the instructions on "How to Use This Book." You should not delay your choice of topic, since the essay should be finished at about the same time as you complete the course.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. Leaders in the Struggle for Pan-Americanism. Match the following leaders with the statements about them by writing before each statement the letter of the person to whom it refers. As far as possible, the statements are in chronological order.

a. Hull	g. López	m. Blaine
b. Theodore Roosevelt	h. Root	n. Mahan
c. Lincoln	i. Lodge	o. Maximilian
d. Bolívar	j. Monroe	p. Franklin D. Roosevelt
e. Padilla	k. Coolidge	q. William Walker
f. Hughes	l. Cantilo	r. Clay

- () 1. The Latin American who, in 1818, proposed that all the American republics form "one political body."
- () 2. The president who announced that the United States would defend the Western Hemisphere against European encroachments.
- () 3. The United States leader who succeeded in getting this country to be the first to recognize the new American republics.
- () 4. A United States leader who opposed the Mexican War as unjustified.
- () 5. A United States soldier of fortune who seized control of Nicaragua.
- () 6. A European archduke whose invasion of Mexico violated the Monroe Doctrine and forced the United States to demand his withdrawal.
- () 7. United States Secretary of State who called the first Pan-American Conference (Washington, 1889) to be attended by this country.
- () 8. The United States President who announced a policy of policing backward neighbors.
- () 9. A United States naval strategist who advocated that this country build and defend a Panama canal and have a large navy.
- () 10. A United States Secretary of State who had the second Hague Conference postponed so that he might attend the Pan-American Conference in Rio.
- () 11. The United States President who sent marines back into Nicaragua in 1927, thus alarming Latin America.
- () 12. The United States Secretary of State who said at Habana (1928) that the conference could not discuss tariffs.
- () 13. His successor who, at Montevideo (1933), urged an agreement for lowering tariffs.
- () 14. The United States President who proposed at Buenos Aires (1936) that the Monroe Doctrine become a co-operative policy of all the American republics.
- () 15. The Argentine delegate at Lima (1938) who opposed any defense union until the continent was actually threatened.

- () 16. The Mexican delegate at Rio (1942) who proclaimed that Pearl Harbor meant an attack on the liberties of "all free men of America."
- () 17. The president of Colombia who advocated (1942) an American Association of Nations.

B. Problems in the Development of Pan-Americanism. Each of the following statements is accompanied by a group of completions, some of which are correct. Encircle the letter of each correct completion.

1. The following are examples of European nations exercising influence in Latin America in its first century of independence

- a. Spain's navy attacked Peru and Chile in 1866.
- b. Spain tried to regain Cuba in 1861.
- c. Britain favored the independence of Latin America because it would be a good market for her.
- d. The British annexation of part of Honduras in 1846 was opposed by Guatemala.
- e. In the 1860's France sent an army to install Maximilian on the throne of Mexico.
- f. After sending 500,000 colonists to Latin America, Germany tried to annex Venezuela in 1902.

2. At the First Pan-American Conference, called by Secretary Blaine

- a. All the nations except the Dominican Republic were represented.
- b. The Bureau of American Republics was set up, and later it developed into the Pan American Union.
- c. The plan for a customs union was not adopted because of fear that Europe would resent it.
- d. An arbitration agreement was signed by all the republics.

3. The development of United States imperialism in the hemisphere included the following steps

- a. The Mexican War through which Mexico lost almost half of her territory to the United States.
- b. Cuba, after being liberated from Spain, was required to grant the United States a naval base at Guantánamo and the right to intervene to maintain order.
- c. The United States annexed Panama in order to build the Canal.
- d. The United States took control of the finances of the Dominican Republic in 1905 and later sent in marines for a period of nine years.
- e. Marines were sent into Nicaragua and remained there for twenty-one years.

4. In the Sixth Pan-American Conference at Habana in 1928

- a. It was decided that political questions could be discussed freely.
- b. However, the question of tariffs could not be brought up because of United States opposition.
- c. This decision caused the Argentine delegation leader to resign in protest.

- d. The question of United States intervention in the other republics was bitterly debated, but decision was postponed until the next Conference.
5. At the Seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo (1933), the following results were achieved
- a. Secretary Hull promised that the United States would not press for the collection of unpaid debts.
 - b. He also stated that the United States was not interested in discussing tariffs.
 - c. The United States promised not to intervene again in the other republics.
 - d. The United States was not opposed to the discussion of any subject which other American republics wished to bring up.
6. The following were some of the reasons for the change of United States policy between 1928 and 1933
- a. The depression had made the United States more concerned about solving its own problems than those of other countries.
 - b. Secretary Hull wished to expand trade by lowering tariffs.
 - c. Also, at Montevideo he set out to call personally on the head of each delegation.
 - d. The stationing of marines in Haiti had produced good results there.

C. The Development of Hemisphere Defense. In the following statements, the word in *italics* is the KEY word. If the statement is true, write the letter T in the blank. If it is *not* true, write in the blank the word which should be substituted for the key word to make the statement true.

- _____ 1. The Inter-American Peace Conference in Buenos Aires (1936) *adopted* Brazil's proposal that all the republics help defend the Western Hemisphere.
- _____ 2. Also, a plan for exchanging students and professors was *adopted*.
- _____ 3. At the Eighth Pan-American Conference in Lima (1938), Argentina *agreed* to a plan for the foreign ministers to consult in the case of a threat to hemisphere safety.
- _____ 4. This decision *was* influenced by Hitler's action in seizing Austria and part of Czechoslovakia.
- _____ 5. After Hitler invaded Poland, the foreign ministers met at *Panama* (1939) and established a neutrality zone of about 300 miles around the continent.
- _____ 6. Also, they set up a Neutrality Committee to meet regularly at *Rio*.
- _____ 7. The fall of France and Holland brought the foreign ministers together again at *Washington* in July, 1940.
- _____ 8. The important decision was that, if Hitler threatened to take over any *French or Dutch* colonies in the Western Hemisphere, a Pan American Commission could assume control first.

- _____ 9. After the attack on Pearl Harbor the foreign ministers held a third meeting in *Rio* in January, 1942.
- _____ 10. It was decided that all the republics should break relations with the Axis, and all did so, except Argentina and *Mexico*.
- _____ 11. Also, it was *decided* to take over and use Axis merchant ships interned in American harbors.
- _____ 12. Axis funds were to be *frozen*.
- _____ 13. The completion of the Pan-American Highway was to be *postponed*.
- _____ 14. Necessary war materials, such as *rubber*, were to be furnished to the United States as fully as possible.
- _____ 15. The boundary quarrel between Peru and *Bolivia* was settled, along with other conflicts.
- _____ 16. The Pan-American Conferences have set up several commissions, one of which is the *Sanitary Bureau*, housed in the Pan American Union building in Washington.
- _____ 17. The great weakness of the Pan American Union is that it has not enough *funds*.

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. In the period of 1814-1914, what policy toward Latin America was followed by each of these nations: Spain, Britain, France and Germany?
2. What policy for the Americas was advocated by each of these men: Bolívar, Monroe, Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt?
3. What contribution to inter-American relations was made by Clay, Blaine and Root?
4. Contrast the achievements of the two Pan-American Conferences at Habana (1928) and Montevideo (1933). What were the fundamental causes of the differences?
5. What contributions to hemisphere solidarity were made by each of these conferences: Buenos Aires (1936), Lima (1938), Panama (1939), and Habana (1940)?
6. Comment in detail on this statement: "The Rio meeting in January, 1942, proved that hemisphere solidarity was a reality, not just an ideal."
7. Explain four activities, other than defense, which are carried on by the American nations, with an example of each. What is the chief weakness of their co-operation?

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Carr, Katherine, *South American Primer*, Ch. 10.

Gunther, John, *Inside Latin America*, Ch. 1, 2.

Humphrey, John P., *The Inter-American System*, Macmillan, 1942.

Inman, Samuel Guy, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*, Ch. 17, 18.

McCulloch, John I. B., *Challenge to the Americas*, Foreign Policy Association, 1940.

Wertenbaker, Charles, *A New Doctrine for the Americas*, Viking, 1941.

Williams, Mary W., *People and Politics of Latin America*, Ch. 33.

HALF-COURSE REVIEW

A. Brazil. In the following statements the word in *italics* is the KEY word. If the statement is true, write the letter T in the blank. If it is *not* true, write in the blank the word which should be substituted for the key word to make the statement true.

- _____ 1. *José Bonifacio* was prime minister in the early days of Brazil's independence and the tutor of young Pedro II.
- _____ 2. Pedro II had a long and very *dictatorial* reign.
- _____ 3. *Rio Branco* is the present foreign minister and a good friend of the United States.
- _____ 4. The language and basic culture of Brazil are *Portuguese*.
- _____ 5. In area and population it *is* the largest country of Latin America.
- _____ 6. *Brazil* was the last South American nation to become a republic.
- _____ 7. The abolition of slavery in Brazil *was* accomplished by a civil war.
- _____ 8. Brazil entered World War I on the side of the *Allies*.
- _____ 9. Vargas became president of Brazil in 1930 by means of an *election*.
- _____ 10. In 1932 he crushed a revolt which centered in the province of *São Paulo*.
- _____ 11. In 1937 he cancelled the elections and set up a *dictatorial* regime called "the New State."
- _____ 12. Brazil, after breaking relations with the Axis, *has not* declared war.
- _____ 13. The *United States* has loaned Brazil twenty million dollars to establish a steel industry.
- _____ 14. In the Constitution of 1937 labor *is not* given the right of collective bargaining.

B. Argentina. Some of the following statements about Argentina are opinions and others are statements of fact. In front of the statements of opinion, encircle OD if they are discussed in the chapter, and ON if not discussed. In front of the statements of fact, encircle T if they are true, and F if they are not true.

- | | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|---|
| T | F | OD | ON | 1. Rivadavia was the greatest leader Argentina ever had. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 2. General Rosas governed as dictator in the 1830's and 1840's. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 3. Sarmiento, exiled by Rosas, later returned from the United States to become president of the republic. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 4. President Irigoyen did not use the best means of combatting the great depression. |

- T F OD ON 5. President Ramírez heads a dictatorial regime which has refused to break relations with the Axis.
- T F OD ON 6. Argentina has arbitrated several boundary disputes in her history, notably one with Chile which is commemorated by the statue of Christ of the Andes.
- T F OD ON 7. Argentina is unwise in following a policy of buying from those who buy from her.
- T F OD ON 8. Argentina has a tendency to dominate her neighbors of the La Plata region, especially Paraguay.
- T F OD ON 9. In Pan-American Conferences the United States and Argentina often disagree because of their similarities rather than their differences.
- T F OD ON 10. The chief source of wealth in Argentina is agriculture, especially the production of meat and wheat.
- T F OD ON 11. In normal times Argentina trades more with the United States than with Europe.
- T F OD ON 12. In both World Wars Argentina has followed a policy of neutrality.
- T F OD ON 13. It would be wiser for Argentina to declare war against the Axis, as Brazil has done.

C. Uruguay and Paraguay. Each of the following statements is followed by a group of completions, some of which are correct. Encircle the letter of each correct completion.

Uruguay

1. José Batlle y Ordóñez has an honored place in Uruguayan history because
 - a. He ended the period of revolutions and ushered in a period of increasing democracy.
 - b. He stimulated the discussion of political reforms and thus prepared the people for the new constitution of 1919.
 - c. He believed in a president with unrestricted power.
 - d. Also, he started the system of government ownership of some businesses, such as meat packing, banking, and insurance.
 - e. He favored social security laws, and Uruguay adopted them some 20 years before the United States did.
2. Uruguay's loyalty to democracy is shown in the following ways:
 - a. She has entered World War II on the side of the democracies.
 - b. Because of her advanced social legislation, she is called the Switzerland of South America.
 - c. In both World Wars, she has given the American belligerent nations the same privileges as nonbelligerents.
 - d. Her constitution of 1919 is regarded as the best in South America.

Paraguay

3. Paraguay has been handicapped by dictators and wars, for instance:
 - a. "El Supremo" shut off Paraguay from the rest of the world and thus retarded her development.
 - b. López II devoted the nation's resources to building up the army and navy, and to fighting Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay for a period of five years.
 - c. Paraguay suffered so much during the war that the population was reduced more than 50 per cent.
 - d. Also, Paraguay's participation in World War I greatly weakened her.
 - e. In the 1930's the war with Bolivia left her with a disrupted economic life, a heavy debt and a government of military dictators.

D. Chile, Bolivia and Peru. In the following statements, the word in *italics* is the KEY word. If the statement is true, write the letter T in the blank. If it is *not* true, write in the blank the word which should be substituted for the key word to make the statement true.

Chile

- _____ 1. *O'Higgins*, as the first president of Chile, devoted himself to improving education, roads, and trade.
- _____ 2. In the War of the Pacific Chile *lost* territory which contained rich nitrate fields.
- _____ 3. President *Balmaceda*, although he carried through a program of public works, was ousted by the conservatives in a civil war in 1891.
- _____ 4. In 1920 President Alessandri began a period of liberal reform, including the separation of Church and state, but was forced out by the *conservatives* in 1925.
- _____ 5. Ibáñez was a *liberal* president who borrowed heavily in the United States in the 1920's.
- _____ 6. *Aguirre Cerda* was the first Popular Front president and he sought to improve the health service and to reduce the price of bread.
- _____ 7. In the last 25 years the production of nitrates has greatly *increased*.

Bolivia

- _____ 8. One of Bolivia's difficulties is the *high* degree of illiteracy among the Indians.
- _____ 9. As a result of the War of the Pacific Bolivia *gained* a strip of seacoast.
- _____ 10. Chile agreed in 1904 to build a railway from La Paz to the Pacific and to *sell* it to Bolivia after 15 years.
- _____ 11. In the Chaco War of the 1930's Bolivia was *victorious*.
- _____ 12. During World War II Bolivian tin is being refined in *Texas* instead of having to be shipped to England.

Peru

- _____ 13. In the 1860's Spain was *successful* for a time in reconquering Peru.
- _____ 14. After the War of the Pacific *Chile* took nitrate deposits away from Peru.
- _____ 15. During his exile in the United States *Leguía* was an insurance salesman and met some of the bankers from whom he later arranged to borrow money as the president of Peru.
- _____ 16. *Haya de la Torre*, during his exile, studied in Europe and in the United States and then returned to form the APRA.
- _____ 17. The APRA *opposes* increased education for the Indians.
- _____ 18. *Benavides*, elected in 1939, ended political persecution and emphasized education.
- _____ 19. In Peru the Indians comprise one *tenth* of the population and are economically backward.
- _____ 20. Peru, in improving transportation, *has* completed its section of the Pan-American Highway.

E. Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. Each of the following statements is followed by a group of completions, some of which are correct. Encircle the letter of each correct completion.

1. Colombia has had the following problems in her history:
 - a. With only a Pacific seacoast she has a problem in shipping her goods to Europe.
 - b. Relations with the United States were embittered for many years by the manner in which Theodore Roosevelt aided the revolt of her Panama province.
 - c. The three Andes mountain ranges make transportation very difficult, except by air.
 - d. The relations of Church and state have troubled Colombian political life.
 - e. The land and labor reforms of President López have been strongly opposed by the conservatives.
2. Ecuador has had the following serious handicaps to overcome:
 - a. Difficult transportation between the coastal plain, the mountain plateau, and the Amazon lowlands
 - b. The illiteracy and disease of the Indian population
 - c. Political disagreement over such questions as the power of the Church in national life
 - d. A blight on the cacao trees which has not yet been overcome
3. Venezuela has suffered from a century of dictators, such as the following:
 - a. Guzmán Blanco reformed education and finances, but ruled as a conceited, capricious dictator.
 - b. Castro seized control by force and, after nine years, went to Europe with his family and fortune.

- c. Gómez ruled for 27 years, enriching himself and persecuting his opponents.
- d. López Contreras seized control after Gómez' death and continued the same practices.

F. International Political Relations. The events in the left-hand column are in correct chronological order. Fill in each blank with the letter of the item in the right-hand column which fits correctly into the time-order.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Bolívar proposed a league of American nations. | a. Foreign ministers met in Panama. |
| 2. _____ | b. Theodore Roosevelt announced his "policing" policy. |
| 3. _____ | c. Foreign ministers met at Habana. |
| 4. Maximilian's control of Mexico was ended. | d. Inter-American Peace Conference at Buenos Aires. |
| 5. The United States held the First Pan-American Conference in Washington. | e. Argentina broke relations with the Axis. |
| 6. _____ | f. Pan-American Conference at Montevideo. |
| 7. Pan-American Conference was held in Habana. | g. Bolívar called an American Congress in Panama. |
| 8. _____ | h. President Monroe announced his doctrine. |
| 9. _____ | |
| 10. Pan-American Conference was held in Lima. | |
| 11. _____ | |
| 12. _____ | |
| 13. Rio de Janeiro Conference held after the attack on Pearl Harbor. | |

VII. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The economic importance of the Southern countries to the rest of the world is assured, both because of what they produce and because of what they buy. With nearly three times the area of the United States and about an equal population, the possibilities of growth are great. This, of course, should mean larger opportunities for foreign markets. Even without an enlarged population, rising living standards will increase purchases of foreign goods. The contention of Mexican leaders for several years has been that support of the social program to improve conditions of the peons would mean the opening of immense markets for the sale of American goods to those who begin to wear shoes, sleep on beds, ride in busses, listen to radios, and use modern sanitary equipment.

LATIN-AMERICAN TRADE

For convenience in our thinking, the economic development of Latin America may be separated into five divisions: (1) the colonial period, when all domestic and foreign commerce was carried on for the benefit of the mother countries; (2) the period of independence, when the economy of these countries was dominated by foreign capital and by the owners of the great landed estates, with production concentrated on one or two products; (3) the period following the World War of 1914-1918, when

the new nationalism spurred the people to more manufacturing, to a diversification of crops, and to restrictions on foreign capital; (4) the recent era, initiated by the German barter system, with political motives dominating trade relations; and (5) the period of the second World War, when commerce was largely with the United States.

Foreign Trade. In foreign trade Latin America is important primarily because of its capacity to produce vast quantities of foodstuffs and industrial raw materials. It is the richest raw-material-producing section of the world not under the direct domination of a great industrial power. About half of all Latin-American exports consists of seven commodities, coffee, corn, copper, meats, sugar, wheat, and wool. Most of the other exports consist of cacao, hides, bananas, linseed, petroleum, cotton, and tin.

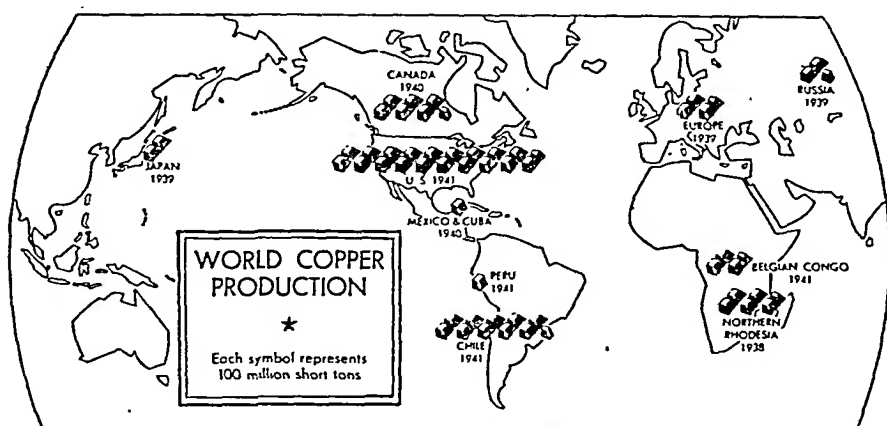
Trade between Latin-American Nations. Difficulties of transportation between Latin-American countries themselves have prevented expansive commercial exchange in the past. Of their total foreign commerce only about 7 per cent has been among themselves. However, this situation is now changing with the developing of manufacturing in certain countries and the difficulties of selling raw materials to

Europe following the outbreak of war in 1939. Under an epoch-making treaty signed by Argentina and Brazil in October, 1940, Argentina is to furnish Brazil with a large amount of wheat and other raw products, in exchange for rubber goods, coffee, and wool.

Mexico recently sent several trade missions to her Southern neighbors and as a result considerably increased her sales of petroleum and other prod-

other individual country, Europe, as a whole, has enjoyed a larger trade with Latin America than any other continent. This can be seen by the following figures for 1938:

Areas	Exports (per cent)	Imports (per cent)
Europe (excluding U.S.S.R.)	54.4	43.6
North America	31.2	35.0
Asia	1.4	4.7
Other areas	7.1	6.7



Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs

ucts. Peru and Chile, following the settlement of the Tacna and Arica question, have greatly increased their trade, Chile sending manufactured goods and nitrate to Peru in exchange for sugar and cotton.

An important move was the meeting of the First Regional Conference of the Rio de la Plata countries, as the result of which, on February 6, 1941, nine agreements were signed to expedite trade among the participating countries: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

Trade with Europe. While Latin America's trade with the United States considerably exceeds that with any

It is important to remember (1) that Europe's trade is largely with southern Latin America, while the United States dominates the Caribbean area; (2) that Europe buys more from Latin America than it sells to her. A difficult problem is created for countries that depend on export business when war, depression, or some other cause suddenly cuts down their sales. During the first World War Great Britain and Germany lost heavily, and the United States assumed the leadership.

German Drive for Trade. During the world depression following 1929, all foreign trade slumped. In Latin

America the lowest figure was reached in 1932, when exports of the United States to the twenty republics amounted only to \$98,500,000 and British exports to only \$100,400,000. It was then that Germany began her tremendous trade drive in Latin America. The government itself took charge of the drive and used it for political ends.

Financial Support from the United States. To combat the German menace, the United States used a new kind of institution which it had set up during the depression to aid our exporters. That institution was the Export-Import Bank.

Functions of the Export-Import Bank. The functions which the Bank was intended to perform were : (1) to aid United States exporters in trading with Latin-American countries; (2) to stabilize the currencies of these nations; and (3) to finance industrial development in Latin America.

Exporters in the United States were paid for their sales in Latin America by the bank. The purchasing countries could repay the sum on long, liberal terms. Thus our exporters were able to withstand the competition of the Nazi-subsidized barter trade. In line with this we stepped up, even if not always sufficiently as yet, our purchases from the debtor countries in order to provide them with the dollars with which to repay our loans.

One of the reasons why trade by barter made headway in Latin-American countries was that the value of their money abroad was very uncertain. They could hardly trade elsewhere but in countries like Germany,

which under the barter system traded goods for goods and neither had nor demanded highly stable money.

The weakness of Latin-American currencies was another source of trouble. They kept all valuable foreign currencies, such as dollars, in their countries by so-called "exchange control." Thus private investors from the United States were unable to convert their profits into cash and withdraw their dollars from the debtor countries. The Export-Import Bank earmarked, or set aside for the purpose of stabilizing their currencies, a large part of the credit it had extended to Latin-American countries. As soon as these countries had dollar balances available, they could use those to back up and strengthen their own currencies. Then they could trade outside of Germany, and especially with the United States, on the value of their money.

The third function of the bank was to finance industrial development in Latin America. Loans for that purpose were on the whole small, and the soundness of the investments was closely scrutinized. In contrast to former loans by private banks, these new government loans were not given in the hope of high-interest rates or special concessions.

The Record of the Export-Import Bank. The Export-Import Bank introduced a new era in international banking. The government itself went into the business of lending money abroad. The record of these loans has been singularly good.

The Hull Trade Agreements. In the same year, 1934, in which Congress approved the establishment of the Export-Import Bank, it approved the

Hull Trade Agreement Act, which Secretary Hull had suggested at the Montevideo Congress a year previous.

This act provided that the State Department in conjunction with other departments of the executive branch of the government would be given the right to negotiate tariff rates with another government for the mutual benefit of the trade of both countries. After thorough discussion at home the experts of the two countries would meet in one of the capitals and for weeks or months discuss how the tariffs of hundreds of items might be adjusted so as to improve trade and at the same time not do injustice to the business interests of either country. After long discussions, where each side was watching its own interests, the tariffs were fixed and put into effect by public announcement. No changes were permitted beyond 50 per cent of the former rates. Agreements were subject to new negotiations at any time either party requested such consideration.

Something of this process of "reciprocal tariffs" was suggested by Secretary James G. Blaine at the First Pan-American Conference in 1889. Between the time the Hull plan was adopted in 1934 and 1943, such trade agreements had been made with sixteen different Latin-American republics, and had resulted in improved trade with each of them. The greatest triumph of this plan came in 1941, when the United States and Argentina succeeded in coming to an agreement. This showed that when economic experts rather than politicians work on such problems, a surprising number of ways can be found to increase trade without harming either country.

With its liberal economic measures, such as the Hull Trade Agreements and the Export-Import Bank, the Good Neighbor Policy had borne fruit. After the outbreak of war, trade increased in spite of the loss of markets on the European continent. More loans and even Lease-Lend equipment have been extended to Latin-American countries that are playing a vital role in the war effort. When essential supplies from the Far East and elsewhere were cut off, the American republics became dependent on one another for existence, for defense, and for the success of the Allies. The supply of essential raw materials, all-out production, and hemispheric co-operation then became a matter of life and death.

THE ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF LATIN AMERICA

The United States relies heavily on Latin-American countries for raw materials that are not produced at home, or that can be produced more cheaply in those countries. Fine steel in the United States could not be manufactured without the manganese that is shipped in from Cuba and Brazil. Bauxite from the Guianas provides aluminum. Tungsten for filaments in our electric lamps, formerly obtained from China and Burma, must now come from Latin-American deposits. Cuban chromium for auto bearings and nickel for armor plates, Bolivian tin, Chilean copper, Mexican copper and zinc are essential both in peace time and in war. The need for rubber from Brazil, quinine from Peru, nitrates and iodine from Chile is self-evident. In addition to these key products there is a long list of foodstuffs

and other basic raw materials that we receive in great quantities from Latin America. The most important of these are sugar, wool, coffee, bananas, hides and skins, cacao, and oil. In time of war many products are so greatly needed that in the first six months of 1941 the United States imported more from Latin America than it did during all of 1938.

The Southern republics are important not only in what they produce but also in what they buy. The United States is the best seller of manufactured goods to Latin America. Even in peace time about 40 per cent of all dairy products, flour, railway equipment, cotton and rayon, electric equipment, iron and steel, and other machinery that we export goes to Latin America. In time of war we also supply munitions, guns, tanks, and planes to our Latin-American allies. Inter-American unity is, therefore, an economic necessity.

The Problem of Competition in the Americas. On the whole, with the exception of the most southern of the countries, notably Argentina, the United States and Latin America have a complementary economy. Latin America furnishes raw materials and in exchange receives manufactured goods from the United States. Does not the United States also produce raw materials? The answer is that it does, but certain goods cannot be produced at home, some are not produced in sufficient quantities, and others can be produced more cheaply in Latin America.

The climates of Latin America and the United States are also complementary. While we raise the crops of the temperate zone, Latin America

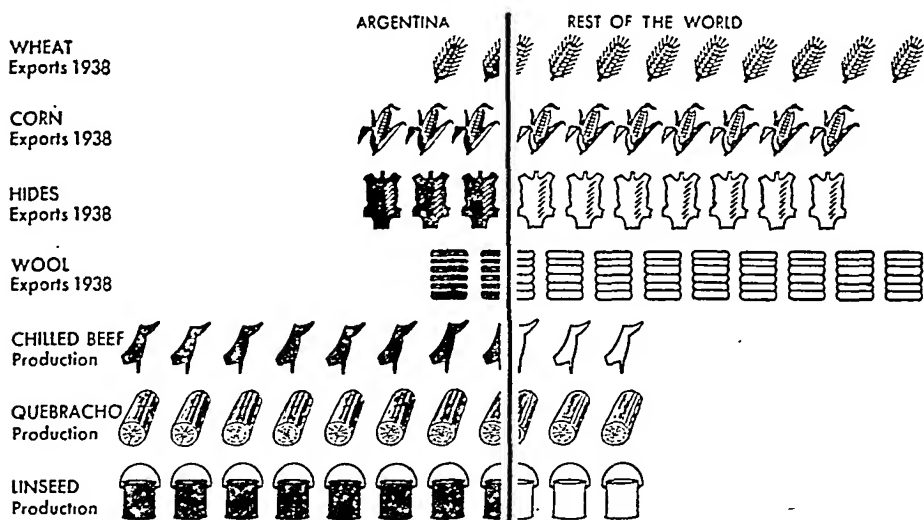
produces many tropical products. Likewise the seasons are reversed. For example, both Argentina and the United States raise apples and grapes but in opposite seasons of the year.

Latin America, however, extends from the tropics to cold Patagonia; many of the twenty republics produce different goods, have diverse economies. Of the three largest Latin-American republics Mexico is our closest neighbor, sending, on an average, 65 per cent of her foreign trade to the United States. The opposition of our investors to the social and national program of the Mexican government at one time formed a great barrier to trade. The crisis of the 1940's saw the neighbor countries joined in wholehearted co-operation. As old differences show promising signs of settlement, Mexico's contribution in vital minerals and oils is being multiplied with the assistance of United States credit and the advice of experts.

Lying almost entirely in the tropical zone, Brazil raises products the United States needs. The United States in turn manufactures goods which Brazil likes. Brazil raises coffee, the people of the United States drink it. She needs railroads, highway-building equipment, machines to conquer her remote West and to develop her industries. The United States can sell all that. Brazilian-United States friendship is traditional; it is reflected by Brazil's active participation in the second World War.

Brazil is a good example of a nationalistic economy that is becoming organized on a continental basis. She has the largest iron-ore deposits in the world; the United States loaned the

ARGENTINA...A WORLD LEADER IN MANY PRODUCTS



Each symbol represents 10% of the world total

Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs

capital to launch her steel industry. She will produce low-grade steel cheaply and in great quantities; this will complement the fine-grade steel produced by the United States.

Argentina is the most industrialized country in Latin America. Her climate and products resemble those of the United States. Still there are important bases for exchange trade: the United States needs quebracho (a wood used in dyeing), hides, and flaxseed; Argentina wants automobiles, binders, and other machines.

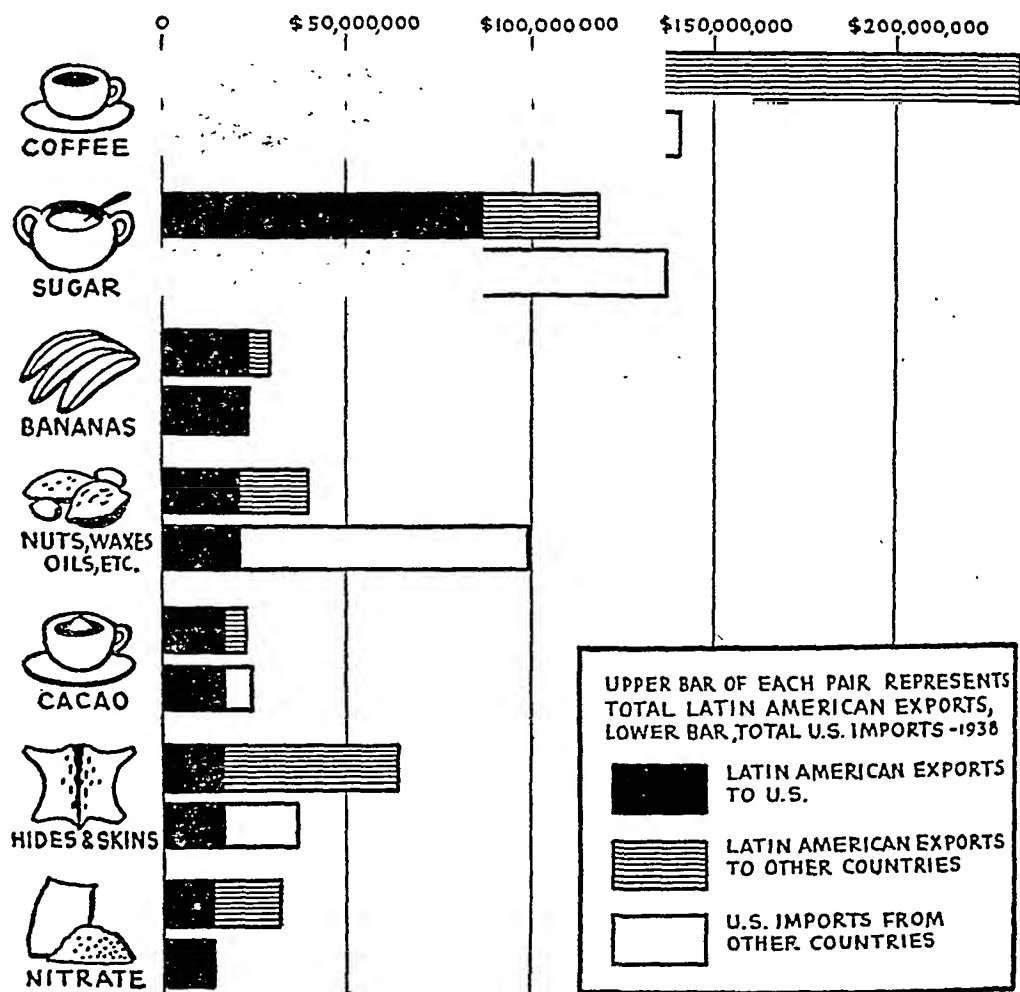
Argentina is a great producer of wheat and meat, both of which the United States has a surplus of—at least in peacetime. Argentina has long resented the exclusion of her canned beef from the United States. Such protectionism, advocated by the meat interests in the United States, has done great damage to United States-Argentine friendship. On the whole,

Argentine trade was more than compensated for losses in wheat and meat by wartime increases along other lines.

PROBLEM OF SURPLUSES

Most Latin-American republics, under the old economic system, have been plagued with the problem of surpluses. When a country produces only one or two crops for export and a war or a depression prohibits other nations from buying those items, great surplus supplies tend to pile up, and present a big problem. But this problem, we are learning, can be solved. Methods of solution are: (1) by increasing trade between Latin-American countries, (2) by removing import barriers and stepping up purchases on the part of the United States, and (3) by finding out the needs and demands for goods, setting limits to production along these lines, and encouraging more produc-

LATIN AMERICAN EXPORTS THE U.S. CAN BUY



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tion of noncompetitive, complementary goods.

Since the outbreak of the war in 1939 all these methods have been used to solve the problem of surpluses. Difficulties of transportation between Latin-American countries have prevented extensive trade in the past. Of their total foreign commerce only about 7 per cent has been among themselves. Wheat and corn rotted in Argentina while people in Colombia and Mexico lacked proper food. Many

lived on a starvation level in the Caribbean countries and elsewhere. Many children suffered from tuberculosis because of malnutrition. At the same time sugar and beef lay in warehouses in great quantities. With the growing trade agreements between the Latin-American republics, this should cease to be the case.

The United States has greatly increased its purchases in Latin America to reduce some of their surpluses as well as to secure strategic war mate-

rials. The Inter-American Financial and Economic Committee (the same body that had sponsored an Inter-American Bank) worked out in 1940 a quota system for coffee exports. The countries producing coffee for export agreed to limit their production to a certain amount, to avoid surpluses and harmful competition.

Present-Day Industries in Latin America. Latin America is developing industries. Trade with industrial nations had showed them the use and value of modern goods. The demand for these goods naturally led to their manufacture in the country where they were used. Mexico is making her own shoes, hats, cotton goods, newsprint, and even steel products. Brazil is building up her steel, textile, and rubber industries. Argentine factories supply many textiles used in the country. Chile is selling manufactured goods to her west coast neighbors. She has also become an important publishing center for all Spanish America. Loans from the United States are aiding the development of some of these industries.

Does that mean that the United States will lose her export trade of manufactured goods in Latin America? On the contrary. It need only mean a change in the kind of goods sold; it will in all probability result in much greater total commerce. Let us see why this is true.

First of all, the heavy machinery, new equipment, railroads, power plants, road-building machinery that Latin America needs for its industrialization program are all purchased in the United States. The demand for these products will increase; but there seems little prospect for many

years to come that Latin America will develop great industrial centers like Pittsburgh, Detroit, Birmingham. Certain fundamental materials, such as coal, are lacking; also lacking are the dense populations.

Secondly, industries will mean higher living standards in Latin America. The masses of people will have more money to buy all the goods that modern industrial nations produce. When the country people begin to use radios and the new roads, a new trade era will open. Greater interest in sports, amusements, travel; more use of modern household appliances, business machines, home furnishings will open to the United States unlimited markets for these goods. The needs of Latin America will be greatly diversified; production will be specialized in each country in what it can produce best at the least cost. Trade will then be more important than ever. That is why Canada, the second industrial nation on the American continent, is the best customer of the United States.

Can the Americas Be Self-Sufficient?

The war cut off essential supplies from Asia, from the Far East, from the Near East. It interrupted commerce with Europe. Trade between the Americas used to be about equal to the trade with Asia, and half of that with Europe. Now inter-American trade is strained to the utmost, and resources have rapidly developed to supply the increased wartime needs of the United States and its Allies. True, Latin America is the richest raw-material-producing section of the world not under the direct domination of a great industrial power; its

THE AMERICAS

<i>Country</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Area Square Miles</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Population</i>
Argentina.....	13,709,238	1,079,965	Buenos Aires.....	2,450,000
Bolivia.....	3,533,900	416,040	La Paz.....	250,000
Brazil.....	41,565,083	3,286,170	Rio de Janeiro.....	1,585,234
Chile.....	5,178,260	286,396	Santiago.....	829,830
Colombia.....	8,701,816	439,828	Bogotá.....	330,312
Costa Rica.....	687,354	23,000	San José.....	66,800
Cuba.....	4,227,597	44,164	Habana.....	568,913
Dominican Republic....	1,768,163	19,325	Ciudad Trujillo.....	71,297
Ecuador.....	3,085,871	125,000	Quito.....	215,921
El Salvador.....	1,862,980	13,176	San Salvador.....	104,000
Guatemala.....	3,410,762	48,290	Guatemala City.....	166,456
Haiti.....	2,663,000	10,700	Port-au-Prince.....	125,000
Honduras.....	1,154,388	46,332	Tegucigalpa.....	47,223
Mexico.....	19,653,552	758,258	Mexico City.....	1,229,576
Nicaragua.....	1,013,946	57,143	Managua.....	118,448
Panama.....	631,637	34,169	Panama.....	82,827
Paraguay.....	1,014,773	169,266	Asunción.....	104,819
Peru.....	7,395,687	482,258	Lima.....	450,000
Uruguay.....	2,146,545	72,153	Montevideo.....	703,894
Venezuela.....	3,996,095	352,170	Caracas.....	203,342
United States.....	154,436,523	3,738,395	Washington, D.C.	663,019

¹ Chief imports of the Latin-American republics are mainly mineral oils, iron and steel for radios, ready-made clothing, textiles, tools and implements for mining and agriculture, hardware,

² 1939; figure for 1940 unavailable.

economy is largely complementary to that of the United States. But the Americas are not an isolated unit. Their economics can function well only in conjunction with the rest of the world, under a system of free and well-planned economic development and exchange. What is true of the advantage of unity and co-operation

between the Americas applies also to unity and co-operation among all the free nations of the world.

Economic Defense of the Hemisphere. On December 7, 1941, the Axis enemy stormed the door of the Americas. A few weeks later the foreign ministers of the American republics met in Rio de Janeiro to consult

AT A GLANCE

<i>Principal Exports</i>	<i>Foreign Trade — 1940</i> <i>(Approximate values in</i> <i>thousands of</i> <i>United States dollars)</i>	
	<i>Imports</i> ¹	<i>Exports</i>
Wheat, corn, linseed, oats, barley, flour, meats, hides, skins, wool, meat extract, butter, cotton, and quebracho extract and wood...	289,367	382,700
Tin, silver, antimony, lead, copper, zinc, gold, and bismuth.....	23,595 ²	43,003 ²
Coffee, cotton, hides and skins, cocoa, oranges, canned meats, lumber, and tobacco.....	300,877	301,021
Copper bars, nitrate, gold and silver ores, wool, iron ore, lentils, beans, hides, iodine, and fresh fruits.....	104,515	143,596
Coffee, gold, petroleum, bananas, cattle hides, platinum, and tobacco.....	84,677	95,074
Coffee, bananas, gold, tuna fish, and mineral earths.....	16,840	7,484
Sugar, molasses, leaf tobacco, cigars, bananas, copper and iron ore, manganese, alcoholic beverages, sponges, henequen, and honey..	103,860	127,288
Sugar, cocoa, coffee, tobacco, corn, molasses, cattle, and bananas..	10,511	18,330
Cocoa, petroleum, cyanide, coffee, gold, rice, bananas, tagua nuts, hats, rubber, hides and skins, balsa wood, and kapok.....	11,120	10,742
Coffee, gold and silver, sugar, balsam, and henequen.....	8,108	12,228
Coffee, bananas, chicle, gold, honey, and cattle hides.....	12,667	12,039
Coffee, raw sugar, cotton, sisal, bananas, and cocoa.....	7,940	5,399
Bananas, silver, gold, coffee, livestock, grapefruit, tobacco, cyanide, and coconuts.....	10,085	9,658
Silver, gold, lead, zinc, copper, crude petroleum, coffee, henequen, cattle, bananas, and chicle.....	123,902	177,800
Gold, coffee, bananas, lumber, cotton, livestock, hides and skins, and sugar.....	7,052	9,494
Bananas, cocoa, meat, gold, coconuts, cattle hides, rubber, and mother-of-pearl.....	20,464 ²	6,826 ²
Quebracho extract, canned meats, cattle hides, yerba mate, meat extract, oil of petit grain, lumber, and tobacco.....	9,069	7,402
Cotton, copper bars, petroleum, sugar, wool, gold, and mineral ores and concentrates.....	51,666	65,782
Linseed, meats, cattle hides, wheat, and sheepskins.....	39,091	58,186
Petroleum, coffee, gold, cocoa, tonka beans, pearls, sugar, cattle, hides, and alligator and goat skins.....	97,556	269,895
Machinery, petroleum, automobiles and parts, cotton, iron and steel mill products, tobacco, chemicals, wheat, and flour.....	2,540,856	4,021,147
construction, leather and manufactures, furniture and office appliances, automobiles, airplanes, lumber, engines and motors, electrical apparatus and material.		

Courtesy of the Pan American Union

on the political and economic problems of the new situation. The economic program drawn up by that conference is a historic milestone in American relations.

Only a few years ago such steps in pooling and exploiting American resources seemed almost inconceivable. In the 1940's United States experts

are aiding the Latin Americans to develop rubber and other tropical products, to explore mineral deposits, to lay out airfields, to improve transportation, aviation, and radio services. The Pan-American Highway is being rushed to completion with United States' funds. The United States is helping plan and finance new indus-

tries in Latin America and moving to abolish trade restrictions. These efforts should raise the standards of living of our Southern neighbors and provide us with new supplies of raw materials and markets if both sides play the game fairly.

Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State of the United States, has declared:

The American nations can build a system of economic defense that will enable each of them to safeguard itself from the dangers of economic subordination from abroad and of economic distress at home. It is no part of our thought to obstruct in any way logical and natural trade with Europe or with any other portion of the world, but rather to promote such trade with nations willing to meet us, in good faith, in a spirit of friendly and peaceful purpose, and on a plane of frank and fair dealing. Against any other kind of dealing, we naturally will protect ourselves.

The Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee has been instructed to work out the new program as follows:

To create instruments of inter-American co-operation for the temporary storing, financing, and handling of certain commodities, and for their orderly and systematic marketing.

To develop commodity arrangements with a view to assuring equitable terms of trade for both producers and consumers.

To recommend methods for improving the standard of living of the peoples of the Americas.

To establish appropriate organizations for the distribution of a part of the surplus of any such commodity, as a humanitarian and social relief measure.

To consider, while these plans and measures are being developed, the desirability of a broader system of inter-American co-operative organization in trade and industrial matters.

It is along these lines, especially in raising the standards of living, that many of the solutions of economic problems are to be found. In most American countries many are underfed. A well-planned co-operative economy would do much to aid the social and spiritual welfare of the continent and the world at large.

TEST YOURSELF

A. Developments in International Economic Relations. Each of the following statements is accompanied by a group of completions, some of which are correct. Encircle the letter of each correct completion.

1. Half of the exports of the Latin-American countries consist of the following products

<i>a.</i> coffee	<i>d.</i> machines	<i>g.</i> sugar
<i>b.</i> corn	<i>e.</i> meats	<i>h.</i> wool
<i>c.</i> copper	<i>f.</i> wheat	
2. The following statements are true of Latin-American trade with Europe
 - a.* It is larger than trade with North America.
 - b.* Europe trades principally with southern South America.
 - c.* Also, she dominates the trade of the Caribbean region.
 - d.* Europe buys more from Latin America than she sells there.
3. The Export-Import Bank carries on the following activities in relation to Latin America
 - a.* Loans money to Latin-American governments so that they may buy more United States goods.
 - b.* Buys Latin-American goods on a barter basis.
 - c.* Loans money to Latin-American countries to help stabilize their currencies.
 - d.* Loans money to set up industries in Latin America.
 - e.* In general, tries to reduce Latin-American dependence on German barter trade (before World War II).
4. Under the Hull Trade Agreements Act
 - a.* Tariff rates may be changed up to 50 per cent.
 - b.* In ten years, reciprocal trade treaties have been negotiated with sixteen of the twenty other American republics.
 - c.* The idea is to increase trade by mutual reduction of tariffs.
 - d.* It has not been possible to negotiate a treaty with Argentina.
 - e.* The policy is one which Secretary Blaine suggested at the First Pan-American Conference in 1889.
5. The following are examples of the importance of Latin-American trade to the United States:
 - a.* We import manganese from Cuba and Brazil.
 - b.* Large quantities of beef are imported from Argentina.
 - c.* Bauxite from the Guianas is used to produce aluminum.
 - d.* Such essential war materials as tin, rubber, and quinine are imported.
 - e.* Also, in peace time, Latin America gets 35 per cent of her imports from North America.
6. As to the competition between Latin-American and United States products, these are some of the facts:
 - a.* Generally, Latin-American products do not compete with United States products because they are mostly in the tropics while the United States is mostly in the temperate zone.

- b. The United States buys large quantities of Argentine wheat and meat.
- c. An example of non-competitive production is that Mexico sends 65 per cent of her exports to the United States.
- d. Brazil trades her coffee for United States machines.
- e. The United States buys quebracho and linseed from Argentina, who produces more of them than all the rest of the world combined.

7. For the Latin-American problem of surpluses, the following remedies would be helpful:

- a. Export more to the United States (for instance, coffee).
- b. Reduce imports from the other Latin-American countries.
- c. Limit production of the surplus goods.
- d. Diversify production.

8. According to the chart on page 132 the United States could increase her imports from Latin America of the following products:

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| a. bananas | d. nuts, waxes, oils, etc. |
| b. sugar | e. cacao |
| c. hides and skins | |

B. Some Problems of Latin-American Trade. In the following statements, the word in *italics* is the KEY word. If the statement is true, write the letter T in the blank. If it is *not* true, write in the blank the word which should be substituted for the key word to make the statement true.

- _____ 1. To solve the problem of *coffee* surpluses, the Inter-American Financial and Economic Committee in 1940 worked out a quota system for exports to the United States.
- _____ 2. The development of industries in Latin America will tend to *raise* the standard of living there.
- _____ 3. This, in turn, would make a *better* market for United States exports.
- _____ 4. Also, this *would* make the Americas economically self-sufficient.
- _____ 5. Latin America *will* soon produce her own heavy machinery, such as railway equipment.
- _____ 6. As a result of United States' entrance into World War II economic co-operation in the hemisphere was greatly *increased*.
- _____ 7. One of the effects is to *lower* living standards in Latin America.

C. A Summary of Hemisphere Trade. After a study of the import and export figures in the chart on pages 134-35, list the five nations (except the United States) in the order of their volume of trade (1940).

<i>Imports</i>		<i>Exports</i>	
1.	_____	1.	_____
2.	_____	2.	_____
3.	_____	3.	_____
4.	_____	4.	_____
5.	_____	5.	_____

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. What proportion of the foreign trade of the Latin-American countries is with each other? Why is there such a small percentage? What will probably be the future of this trade?
2. Describe the German trading methods in the 1930's. How has the Export-Import Bank opposed these methods?
3. To what extent is United States-Latin-American trade competitive or complementary? How can this trade be increased?
4. Explain the problem of surpluses in Latin America, and three methods for coping with it. Are any of these harmful to United States trade?

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Bidwell, Percy, *The Economic Defense of Latin America*, World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1941.

Ezekiel, Mordecai, *Economic Relations between the Americas*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, February, 1941.

VIII. INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

It is not difficult to understand why nations need to co-operate to stop war. It is also easy to recognize why nations need to agree on certain rules in order to trade together. Therefore, international relations as a subject of study has usually included political (governmental) co-operation and economic co-operation. Today a third section of international relations is being developed, which is called cultural exchange.

THE MEANING OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

By cultural exchange is meant that lecturers and prominent men from various walks of life are encouraged to visit other countries to share their ideas, that students and teachers are exchanged between countries, and that an attempt is made to understand and appreciate the literature, art, and music of other American nations.

Following the first World War the League of Nations and the Pan American Union established special divisions for this work. They were called sections of intellectual co-operation. More recently there has been a tendency to enlarge the idea of this co-operation and call it cultural exchange. Thus are included all of the things that help people of one nation to understand the life of other na-

tions, such as school activities, amusements, business life, religious life, food, health, and transportation. This more general idea of cultural exchange is coming to have an important place in the schools of the United States. For example, a high school in California has included in its study of the cultural life of Mexico questions like these: What kind of amusements do Mexican children enjoy? How do they get their news? Does our town get any food, manufactured goods, metals, books, motion pictures from Mexico? How can we visit Mexico and have Mexicans visit us? Would they welcome us and we them?

• **The Need for Cultural Exchange.** The reason why the League of Nations and the Pan American Union decided to urge not only more political co-operation and international trade, but also an exchange of ideas between countries was that it became clear that treaties made by governments will not be kept unless the people themselves want them kept. If the citizens of the United States and of Mexico are suspicious of each other, it will be very hard for the governments or the business firms of the two nations to have friendly relations. If the people of Argentina and Brazil are always thinking of the wars they have fought

against each other, it will be difficult for them to cultivate good relations today. That was the reason why Argentina and Brazil signed a treaty ten years ago agreeing to rewrite the histories used in the public schools so that offensive passages which might sow hatred of the sister nation would be eliminated. History, of course, cannot deny the facts, however disagreeable. One country, in order to promote friendliness, cannot assume the attitude that it was all to blame and the other party in the controversy was entirely innocent. But both sides of the quarrel can be stated. Bombastic nationalism can be withheld and wounds need not be intentionally inflicted. It was that idea that persuaded these two countries to invite all American republics to join in this treaty. The United States did not feel that it could sign, since in this country individual states, and not the Federal government, control education and the selection of textbooks. But our country, in one way or another, must find ways of having students, as well as older people, get the proper attitude toward the other Americas. That is the problem of developing cultural relations.

Promoting cultural relations between the Americas does not mean that one country must admire all that another country does. True Pan-Americanism will not be promoted either by surrendering one's own patriotism or by endeavoring to get the people of another land to surrender theirs. The reason for a North American to study Argentine literature or Chilean education or Venezuelan petroleum laws is not to make our literature, schools, or laws like those

of our neighbors, nor, on the other hand, is it to get our neighbors to imitate us. Rather, the reason for such cultural exchange is to understand the thought life of other American nations. The most glorious thing about the American way of life is that this kind of democracy allows the people of each nation to develop their own kind of talent as a contribution to the whole. This democracy will not be preserved, however, if as Americans we do not undertake to understand the culture and civilization, the moral and spiritual purposes of our neighbors.

THE HISTORY OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

The history of cultural exchange between Spanish America and the United States and the lack of it follow to a considerable extent the history of political and economic Pan-Americanism. When the colonies separated from Spain, there swept over the new republics a strong anti-Spanish feeling. Deprived, thus, of spiritual relations with the motherland, the new nations were overcome with a spirit of loneliness. Where could they find a new friend to give them inspiration as they embarked on the strange, rough sea of independent life? Politically, they charted their course by that of the United States. They copied the Constitution of the Northern republic. They were inspired by the words and deeds of our great men. One of the most precious possessions of Simón Bolívar was a miniature of George Washington, sent to him by Lafayette at the special request of Washington's family. The friendship of Henry Clay, as expressed

in Congress when he advocated the recognition of the young republics, was deeply appreciated by the Southerners. Immediately the desire of the Southerners to send their young men to school in the North was evident.

Simón Bolívar first started the program by sending his nephew, Fernando Bolívar, to the United States. His uncle desired Fernando to enter the United States Military Academy. Young Fernando, however, was more interested in a certain man than he was in any institution. Fernando therefore betook himself to the University of Virginia to put himself under the influence of the outstanding personality of Thomas Jefferson. A few other students made their way north also.

Soon, however, the opportunity for promoting cultural exchange with Latin America was lost. The United States became absorbed in conquering the West and settling its frontiers, and neglected to look beyond its own borders. Where the United States failed, France succeeded. She became the great spiritual guide for Latin America as well as the center for the education of its youth.

North American Writers Look Southward. Following the War between the States the visit to the United States of the great Argentine, Sarmiento, was one indication of this exchange. About the same time an interest in the literature of Spanish America was shown by writers in this country. This was demonstrated especially by the famous group which included Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, and Whitman. Bryant was one of the first to learn Spanish. He visited Latin America and took a deep inter-

est in the poetry of those countries. His paper, the New York *Evening Post*, printed translations from the Spanish. In Spanish America the works of Poe and Longfellow have been translated more often than those of any other of our great literary figures. Although he may not be the most representative writer of his country, Poe has probably left the greatest impression on the literature of Latin America because of his great artistry and originality. Once the literary values and philosophical tendencies of our great writers became known, many poets from the South began to translate their poems. Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac* was translated and used as a school reader in Brazil. Walt Whitman, as the poet of democracy, has been widely read in Latin America.

In the same period following the War between the States a small group of North American scientists became interested in South America. The great scientist Louis Agassiz spent considerable time in Brazil at the invitation of the emperor of that country. The amiable Dom Pedro II himself visited the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. This was an important incident in the early cultural exchanges between North and South America. At the exposition the emperor met Alexander Graham Bell and tested the invention by which he claimed to be able to make his voice carry for a considerable distance by means of two instruments attached to the ends of a wire. The invention—the telephone—was pronounced a success by the emperor. This recognition brought the telephone to the favorable attention of the world. During

that epoch a few scientists and an occasional teacher from the United States made a visit to the South. Likewise, a few Southern students sought instruction in this country. But anything like an exchange of students had to await the exigencies of the first World War. At that time students who were unable to reach Europe began to come in considerable numbers to the United States.

Exchange of Students and Professors. Latin-American countries have always emphasized the importance of the exchange of students, of musicians, artists, and writers. Their governments have assumed the responsibility for financing such exchange. The United States, on the other hand, has assumed that this exchange should be carried on by private agencies. We have emphasized so constantly through our representatives of the Department of Commerce and our consuls our desire for commercial exchange that Latin Americans have often thought we were interested only in trade. Germany, France, and Italy, however, have carried on the exchange with Latin America and have paid the way of their cultural representatives.

As an illustration of how this works out consider the following situation. At the University of São Paulo in 1930 it was decided to add a number of foreign professors to the staff. Twenty professors were brought from European countries, but not one from the United States. When a North American questioned this, the reply was: "Aren't your universities largely interested in football?" A North American professor was finally called. But to secure his passage, it was necessary to take up a collection among the

professors and students of his own institution. European countries gave their professors free passage on their national ships and continued the salary which they received in their native land. The salary of the professor from the United States was paid by the Brazilian university itself. When he found he could hardly live on the salary and asked for an increase, the reply was: "Why should we pay you more; we can get all the professors we want from other countries for practically nothing." When he began a course on American civilization, he was compelled to get the needed books from a fund donated to the university by the French government. Under these circumstances he must, of course, select French books. A humiliating situation! There are large numbers of foreign professors in South America, but very few are from the United States.

THE BUENOS AIRES TREATY ON CULTURAL RELATIONS

The strong drive of Germany to dominate the cultural life of the Latin-American countries finally persuaded the United States Government to undertake a program of cultural exchange. In 1936 the United States delegation at the Buenos Aires Peace Conference proposed the Buenos Aires Treaty on Cultural Relations. It provides that each nation shall send to every other nation signing the treaty two graduate students and one professor. These are to be supported by the government who sends them and are to be chosen by an organization set up by each country. This treaty was hailed with delight by the Latin Americans. By the year 1942 fifteen

countries had signed this treaty. When all twenty-one republics have approved this agreement, it will mean that 840 (that is, $2 \times 21 \times 20$) graduate students will be distributed over the twenty-one republics of the continent. Likewise there will be 420 professors, for each country will receive one professor from each of the other twenty republics and will send one professor to each of the other republics. In all, this will make an army of 1260 emissaries of peace and understanding among the Americas.

It is interesting to note that in Latin America there were more students and professors prepared to fulfill the requirements of this treaty than there were in the United States. North Americans are usually not interested in attending foreign universities unless they can earn credits which will be recognized as counting toward degrees at home. Few have the necessary mastery of the foreign language for study or teaching. Our professors are not willing to accept the lower salary scales prevailing in the Southern republics. The fact is that there are many problems involved in students going to a foreign country. Let us give a few illustrations.

Difficulties of Student Exchange. The niece of a president of a South American republic came to an outstanding women's college in the United States to finish her studies in psychology. Before matriculation, she was submitted to a rigorous test. When she was asked to name the prominent psychologists with whose work she was familiar, she mentioned her own professors and some important European authorities. Impatiently she was told that the examiner

had never heard of those names and that United States authorities must be given. Deeply mortified, she was prevented from returning home immediately only by the lack of money.

Foolish remarks of fellow students often create wrong impressions upon visiting Latin Americans. "Will you please bring along your native costume when you come to dinner?" "Where did you get that beautiful dress?" "Don't tell me you could buy one like that in Chile!" "I should like to give you tickets to the symphony concert. However, don't expect to hear any of your native tangoes. It will be mostly what we call classical music. But you will enjoy the experience, I'm sure." Such "good-will agents" do not know that Paris styles reach South America more quickly than they do New York (because of reverse seasons); that classical music is played by even the street bands in the Southern republics; that South Americans are no more likely to have a "native costume" than are North Americans. Visitors from the South do not appreciate being regarded as museum specimens, as wild Indians, or as anything else except human beings and Americans.

A group of students from the United States recently went south to attend summer school at one of the ancient universities. Because the students at that institution regard themselves as serious-minded adults, they could not understand the "college pranks" of the North American visitors. They considered such actions as juvenile and beneath the dignity of attendants at a university. Nor did citizens generally understand how young women from a supposedly cul-

tured environment could behave badly in public places, forget their dignity, and ignore the rule of having a chaperon. Equally bad taste is shown at times by students from the South when they fail to meet the requirements of United States schools and the legitimate demands of hostesses, who are offended by rudeness. Such students may enjoy life, but they should not think that they are promoting cultural relations.

New Organizations. The adoption by the United States of the Buenos Aires Treaty on Cultural Relations required the organization of a Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State. This division was organized in 1938. Besides assuming responsibility for carrying out the treaty, this division announced that its interests embraced also the distribution of United States libraries in foreign lands, the participation of this government in international cultural conferences, broadcasts, the encouragement of closer relations between unofficial organizations of this and foreign governments, and the general improvement of the scope of our cultural relations with other countries. The Office of Education of the Federal Government organized an inter-American section to co-operate with the new Division of Cultural Relations in selecting students and professors from our own country and in the distribution of those coming from Latin-American countries to the various colleges and universities in the United States.

The Federal government, in setting up this official section on Cultural Relations, was careful to emphasize that in no way did it desire to take

the place of what individuals, clubs, or institutions wished to do. Many schools, colleges, clubs, foundations, and other institutions began to study ways of exchanging personnel, printed material, and correspondence between Northern and Southern republics. Mr. Leopold Stokowski, the Philharmonic conductor, selected a large group of young musicians to accompany him on a notable trip to Latin America. The classical music which he played had often been heard in Latin America played by their own or European orchestras, but the coming of a large orchestra composed of young men and young women from the United States was a unique experience. Their masterly performances of the most difficult music gave the Latin Americans a new conception of United States culture, and also of the youth of the North. The appreciation received meant also that every young person in the orchestra returned to his home community with great enthusiasm for the culture of Latin America. The custom of holding summer sessions for North American students in Latin America and for Latin-American students in North America became more common. The Pan American Union, the Division of Cultural Relations of the State Department, the International Institute of Education of New York, North American steamship and airways companies, educational institutions like the University of Pennsylvania, Yale University, and Smith College sent groups of their students to Latin-American universities for summer and winter sessions. In 1940 the first large contingent of university students from South America, numbering more than one hundred in one group, came to

the University of North Carolina for the six weeks' summer course. Summer schools in the North and in the South took on ever larger proportions until interrupted by the second World War.

High Schools Join the Movement.

The high schools entered the movement with enthusiasm. Many of them integrated courses in English, the social studies, art, music, and Spanish with study of the culture of the other American peoples and inter-American relations. In other schools a conscious effort is made by each department in the school to contribute to the understanding of South America. Classes reported on Pan-American conferences by telephone, cable, and radio. Pupils studied the figures on exports to and from the republics of North America. Groups designed tapestries inspired by Mexican murals, decorated maps, painted wooden bowls in the manner of the Mexican and Guatemalan artists, and created costumes for use in fiestas and at Pan-American balls. The complementary character of the economic life of the North and the South American republics was compared with complementary elements in art which make for a more complete, better-balanced continent.

Pupils in biology reported on animals and plants of South America and studied famous biological experiments conducted in connection with malaria and yellow fever in Panama and Cuba. English and history classes studied great men, such as Bolívar, O'Higgins, Juárez, and San Martín, discussed Pan-Americanism and the present world crisis, and debated unsolved problems of inter-American relations.

They studied avenues of communication and evolved a plan for removing prejudice through understanding and knowledge. Physical education groups became acquainted with Pan-American athletic games and inter-American Olympics. The home-making department considered food products which originated in Latin America and the Latin-American products necessary to the North American home. In mathematics classes pupils made maps on scale, found distances between important cities, and estimated lengths of rivers. Economics classes investigated such questions as the significance of Latin-American trade and what American neighbors buy and sell to each other. The State of Texas led all the rest of the country and provided for the study of Spanish in every primary school. That example will no doubt be followed by other states.

MEDIA FOR CULTURAL EXCHANGE

The Office of Co-ordinator. The movement for cultural exchange grew rapidly. It was not enough, however, to counteract the enormous activities of the totalitarian states in Latin America. President Roosevelt speeded up the process by appointing, on August 16, 1940, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller as Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs. This office was assigned several million dollars per year from the funds for National Defense. Thus the Federal government announced that it considered the promotion of cultural relations with the Southern republics as a part of the defense of the United States against the invasion of the Axis.

The Office of the Co-ordinator endeavored to improve all methods of

communication between the republics—the radio, the press, and the motion picture—as well as the truly cultural media of art, music, and education. The demand for news from the United States was met by distribution in the other republics of news, articles, and pictures. Weekly news letters in Spanish and Portuguese were sent by air mail to the other republics to inform them of the progress of the war effort.

National Associations for Cultural Exchange. Latin-American governments, always taking this matter seriously, organized National Commissions for Cultural Exchange when they joined the League of Nations. These commissions later began to co-operate with the Pan American Union. They officially represent their nations, and correspond, to a certain extent, to the Section on Cultural Relations of the Department of State of the United States. They see that their countries are well represented in all international conferences on intellectual subjects. They distribute the books of their best writers to other nations. They organize art exhibitions and book fairs. They invite foreign writers and artists to visit their countries. These National Commissions held the first joint conference in Santiago, Chile, in 1938, and the second in Habana in 1941. Private citizens of Latin America and the United States have organized in various Southern capitals to promote understanding. The oldest of these groups is the Argentine-North American Cultural Institute, which is housed in a large building in the center of Buenos Aires. Here lectures on North American culture are given, North American

books are sold, and classes in English are held. These classes are held in various sections of the city and have become so popular that 5,000 students are enrolled. The institute entertains North American professors and students and supervises the selection of exchange students. It has done much to overcome misunderstandings between Argentina and the United States.

The Pan American Union and Cultural Exchange. The Pan American Union is the pioneer organization in the field of cultural exchange. The Division of Intellectual Co-operation was reorganized in 1925. Its activities include the promotion of student exchange, the distribution of information concerning education, literature, music, and art, the publication of bulletins and bibliographies, the lending of books, and the aiding of teachers and students in their travel in various sections of the American continent. Every recent Pan-American conference has approved numerous plans in this field. The problem is, therefore, not that of developing new schemes. It is rather how to carry out the hundreds of plans that have already been approved. The most important of these plans is the proposal that an Inter-American Institute of Cultural Exchange be set up to co-ordinate all of the official programs of cultural exchange and do away with needless duplication of machinery. The United States Government itself has a dozen separate organizations working on the subject. Until some such body as the Inter-American Institute of Cultural Exchange is organized, this important project will limp along like an enthusiastic cripple,

who is always behind time because he cannot co-ordinate his muscles.

Careful Preparation Needed. The United States has not always been well advised in its efforts to promote understanding. In fact, so many good-will missions were sent from North America to Latin America in 1939-1940 that a Brazilian diplomat humorously remarked, "If the United States sends us another good-will mission, we may feel called upon to declare war on that country." When a certain motion-picture actor was appointed by the United States Government to make an official visit to Latin America, the people in the South were very puzzled. They liked motion-picture actors on the screen. They would welcome them as visitors. But to consider an actor as the official representative of a government, sent for the purpose of enlarging intellectual co-operation, was beyond their understanding.

To start a great program of cultural exchange without careful preparation may be as dangerous as to start a military campaign without a trained army. Immediately following the first World War, Germany opened four institutes in different sections of the country to prepare young people for service in Latin America. They were required to study the languages, the literature, the customs, the psychology, the history, and the economic organization of the countries to which they planned to go. Young people in business, in newspaper work, in radio broadcasting, and in any other activity having to do with Latin America were carefully trained before they undertook any responsible position.

How different it has been in the

United States! The very library which is serving as the basis for all Nazi propaganda in the Spanish-speaking world might have been possessed by the United States. Dr. Ernesto Quesada of Buenos Aires, its owner, offered, through a North American professor, to present it to Columbia University. Certain simple conditions went with the proffered gift of the magnificent collection of 65,000 volumes. But the university had other plans, and the gift was refused. Berlin immediately accepted the offer. Thus Germany started its long careful preparation for intellectual exchange with Latin America. In the United States good newspaper men, good radio broadcasters, and good advertisers are all supposed to be well prepared to lead our cultural propaganda in Latin America. Many serious mistakes, with far-reaching results, are made by the United States representatives who are not fully prepared for this work.

Press, Radio, and the Motion Picture. Three of the most important means of cultural exchange today are the press, the radio, and the moving picture. The United States Government is now emphasizing all of these in connection with Latin America. But the field has been developed with too little intellectual preparation. The press associations of the United States are the most efficient in the world from the standpoint of pleasing readers in the United States. But the attempt to carry on their business in Latin America with the same methods shows that they have failed to appreciate the possibilities of the exchange of news as a medium for cultural exchange. Nor will they ever appreciate it until their agents take

special courses in Latin-American culture.

The Hollywood technique for producing motion pictures is probably the best in the world. North American films dominate the Southern market. This does not mean, however, that they are successful in developing a greater inter-American understanding. They are often responsible for misunderstandings by giving the Latin Americans the impression that our life is largely made up of night clubs, wild West scenes, drinking parties, and lack of respect for family ties.

When other countries began to disseminate propaganda in Latin America through broadcasts, the United States suddenly felt called upon to do the same. It was then gradually realized that our system of privately owned broadcasting companies, depending on advertising for their prof-

its, imposed difficulties. The United States, one of the few governments in the world that does not possess its own short-wave station, found itself facing special problems. It is certain that to use adequately such powerful agencies as the radio, the motion picture, and the press requires long and careful study.

A country that largely leaves to private initiative a great task like cultural exchange should realize the disadvantage of such a system as compared with others where the government assumes these responsibilities. It should therefore make a special effort to prepare its people for leadership in this field. But the United States has not yet developed a single institution comparable to the Ibero-American Institute of Berlin, or similar ones in other countries, where the cultural life of Latin America is studied.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. Some Leading Figures in Cultural Exchange with Latin America. Match the following leaders with the statements about them by writing before each statement the letter of the person to whom it refers. As far as possible, the statements are in chronological order.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| a. Longfellow | f. Whitman |
| b. Agassiz | g. Pedro II |
| c. Nelson Rockefeller | h. Sarmiento |
| d. Bryant | i. Stokowski |
| e. Quesada | j. Poë |
| k. Fernando Bolívar | |

- () 1. Nephew of a South American leader who chose to study at the University of Virginia in the early nineteenth century
- () 2. The United States poet who published translations of Latin-American literature in the New York *Evening Post*
- () 3. The United States poet who is probably most widely read in Latin America
- () 4. An Argentine author-statesman who visited the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century
- () 5. A United States poet of democracy who is widely read in Latin America
- () 6. A United States scientist who went to study the natural phenomena of Brazil
- () 7. A Brazilian statesman who visited the United States in 1876 and inspected the new invention, the telephone
- () 8. An Argentine who offered his library of 65,000 volumes to Columbia University and, when it was declined, then gave it to Germany
- () 9. The United States orchestra leader who took a youth orchestra on a tour of South America
- () 10. A United States citizen who was appointed Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs in 1940

B. The United States Program of Cultural Exchange. Each of the following statements is accompanied by a group of completions, some of which are correct. Encircle the letter of each correct completion.

1. Until 1936, both the public and private agencies of the United States tended to neglect cultural exchange with Latin America, in contrast with other nations.

- a. Other nations, such as France, sent professors to Latin America, but the United States Government did nothing of that kind.
- b. The United States did not join the Brazil-Argentine treaty for improving history textbooks because education is under the control of the states in the United States.
- c. United States writers and scientists were not interested in Latin America.

- d. A university in the United States declined the gift of a private library from Latin America, but the German Government accepted it readily.
 - e. After World War I the German Government established four institutes for training experts in Latin-American affairs, something which the United States Government has not yet done.
2. The Buenos Aires Treaty (1936) has made possible the following program
- a. The United States will finance students whom it sends to Latin America as well as their students who come here.
 - b. Two graduate students and one professor are to be sent by each signatory nation to each other signatory nation.
 - c. The treaty has been signed and ratified by fifteen American republics.
 - d. If all twenty-one republics were to ratify the treaty, a total of 840 students and 420 professors would be exchanged simultaneously.
 - e. To carry out the treaty, the Department of State of the United States established a new Division of Cultural Relations in 1938.
3. Cultural exchange has certain difficulties for the United States
- a. Our students are generally not well prepared in the languages of Latin America.
 - b. Latin-American students do not particularly want to come to United States universities.
 - c. Some United States universities are not well prepared to receive students from the other American republics.
 - d. Some of our students are not inclined to conform to Latin-American customs, such as the chaperonage of unmarried women in some countries.
 - e. Some of our people expect Latin-American students to be "queer," and to have a "native costume" with them.
4. Other organizations, too, are aiding cultural exchange with Latin America
- a. The Pan American Union was a pioneer in this field, since it began its Division of Intellectual Co-operation in 1925.
 - b. Nelson Rockefeller, as Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, has since 1940 been exchanging radio programs, press services, movies, art, educational services, etc.
 - c. United States universities, such as the University of North Carolina, have been exchanging students with Latin America.
 - d. High schools in this country have begun to study Latin America more intensively than before.
 - e. In some Latin-American cities, such as Buenos Aires, our citizens have established cultural institutes to interpret the United States to the other country through various activities, such as the teaching of English.
5. The United States has faced certain handicaps in its program:
- a. Latin Americans are generally not interested in the United States.
 - b. Our program is not always well co-ordinated, so that some countries have received too many "good-will" missions.

- c. A movie actor may not be the best choice for an official cultural envoy to Latin America.
- d. In radio broadcasting the lack of a government station is a handicap.
- e. Hollywood movies may not always aid in a correct understanding of this country.

C. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. Explain the meaning of "cultural exchange," and give at least three examples of activities which the United States is carrying on in this field.
2. If you were put in charge of the United States program of promoting cultural exchange with Latin America by means of exchanging films, what plans would you make? Explain them in an organized, detailed plan.
3. Discuss the mistakes which we have made in cultural relations with Latin America, mentioning at least three concrete examples.

IX. LATIN-AMERICAN LITERATURE

To understand a people, we must know what they are thinking as well as what they are doing. This is especially true of our Southern neighbors. The writers of Latin America make up a group of delightful men and women. To know them is to have an appreciation of Latin America that is quite impossible if we know only the facts of their history. The history of the literature of the Southern republics is in itself an important and extended study. In the small space here available, we prefer, instead of making brief reference to many writers and to the various periods of literary history, to select a few typical authors of the period following the establishment of the republics and to give samples of their writings.

The writers discussed in this chapter have been selected not because they are necessarily the best but because they illustrate some of the characteristic traits of Southern poets, essayists, and novelists of yesterday and today.

Rich earth, magnificent scenery, and turbulent history have for centuries been the inspiration of Latin-American writers. So closely related to life and historical development is the literature of these countries that studying it is one of the best means

of understanding the people it pictures. In the days of the conquistadors, Garcilaso de la Vega, with admiration for his fatherland Peru, poured forth tales of the Inca civilization. The Spaniard Ercilla, in the epic poem *La Araucana*, described battles with the hardy Indians of Northern Chile. During the colonial period poetry flourished. In the revolts against Spain poets, novelists, and essayists devoted themselves to working for liberty. Today political and social problems become the concern of writers, who use their pens to improve the conditions of their countries.

In 1825 Latin America was like a bewildered child: affectionate, yet lonely; eager, yet hesitant. She was standing alone, tightly clutching her newly won freedom from Spain. She was surrounded by the dangerous specters of disunity, chaos, and confusion. She glanced appealingly at the United States, swift, impetuous, glorying in strength and unity. A few farsighted men like Jefferson, Clay, and Monroe observed with sincere and deep interest this admiration of Latin America for our country. These men knew that our constitution had served as a model for the constitutions of Latin-American republics. But the majority of the North Americans

knew practically nothing about their Southern neighbors.

Chile, however, made a direct appeal to the United States in 1810. Would it send "a battery of artillery and a printing press" to Santiago? For Chile realized, as we must realize today and always, that the price of liberty is constant vigilance, and that words and weapons are of equal importance in defending this most precious of all possessions. The United States, knowing well the decisive part printed matter had played in winning her democracy, responded by sending a printing press with three printers to maintain it. One of the most immediate results was the launching of the newspaper, *La Aurora* ("Dawn of Day"), the appearance of which caused wild excitement. Eager citizens raced through the placid streets of Santiago, stopping friends and strangers to read excerpts. To these serious-minded people it was truly a dawn of a new way of life. For three hundred years no new influences had permeated their thoughts. "Now," they exulted, "our ignorance will be dispelled."

We must understand that in Latin America literature has a definite, driving purpose behind it. Books are written to attack social abuses, to support reforms, to suggest solutions to current problems. Political leaders are often writers; newspaper editors often become presidents of their countries.

PERIOD OF REVOLUTION

The intimate manner in which political leaders, educators, and writers fought together for democracy is illustrated in the work of Bolívar's friends, José Joaquín de Olmedo and

Andrés Bello. Olmedo and Bello were known as the Damon and Pythias of the independence movement. They first met in the city of London, where each had gone to obtain help from England in winning freedom for Latin America. They used their pens as effectively as Bolívar used his shining sword.

José Joaquín de Olmedo (1780-1847). Olmedo came from Ecuador with its snow-clad Cordillera pitted with smouldering volcanoes. He was tall, handsome, with fiery black eyes, fine teeth, and a large nose of which he was very proud, because he thereby resembled Vergil, Homer, and Ovid. He was a dynamic orator and active in the political life of his nation, representing Ecuador in Spain in 1810. When Bolívar had finally vanquished the Spaniards, Olmedo wrote the Liberator that he hoped to "make a composition which will bear me with you to immortality." His wish was granted in his poem, "Victory of Junín." Though composed in 1825, its lines are vibrant and timely today:

If to Americans, O liberty!
The solemn mission is by Heaven given
To curb and tame the horrid beast of
war,
And over all the regions of the earth,
And over all the waters of the seas
To spread thy sovereign rule's imperial
sway,
Fear not with such a hero as Bolívar
That error blind shall e'er obscure thy
light,
That superstition shall profane thy altars,
That tyranny shall dare affront thy laws.

For thee shall be the glory, O Bolívar!
For thee the right to break the yoke of
kings,
In their despite to enthrone the law on
high.

Forever shall this glory last, ye nations,
And irresistible your free estate
Shall be before the might and hateful
league

Of all the tyrants that have sworn to
crush you.

If in a federal bond from pole to pole,
In war and peace ye live fore'er united.
In union is your strength, union, O na-
tions!

That ye be always free and never con-
quered.

A mightier work, Bolívar, is this union
Than to destroy Spain's iron rod of power,
And thou alone art worthy to achieve it.

In gratitude for "Victory of Junín"
Bolívar sent Olmedo to London. It
was there that he met Bello, with
whom he formed a very close friend-
ship. When he left London to re-
turn to Ecuador, he wrote to Bello,
"When you read this, I shall be far
from London. But those whom we
love are never far away. I take you,
my dear Andrés, into my heart, into
my soul and very deep."

He wrote few poems because he
composed only when inspired and
was satisfied only with perfection. "I
erase, tear up, correct, and always it
is bad." His intense love for his na-
tive city of Guayaquil, with its nar-
row, cobbled streets and tiled roofs,
brought him back from Europe in
1828. In 1830 he was elected vice-
president of Ecuador, but resigned to
become mayor of his city. He re-
mained in Ecuador until his death in
1847.

Andrés Bello (1781-1865). A vis-
itor to Caracas at the opening of the
nineteenth century would soon have
heard about the brilliant young
scholar and poet, Andrés Bello. He
was an imposing person, dogmatic,
majestic, professorial. He graduated

from the university with highest hon-
ors. He taught the children of dis-
tinguished families, among them
Bolívar. He improvised verses, trans-
lated Horace and Vergil, and mas-
tered French and English. The latter
language was a fortunate acquisition
as he was soon to discover. In the
early 1800's Spain tried to keep from
Latin America any news of revolu-
tions for independence in other coun-
tries. As one local colonial governor
declared, "An American has no need
to know how to read. It is enough for
him to reverence God and His rep-
resentative, the king of Spain." But
Paine's books, the Declaration of In-
dependence, the United States Con-
stitution, and other revolutionary ma-
terials were smuggled into the land
and read with avidity by the secret
literary society of which Bello was a
bright star. In 1808 a copy of the
London *Times* arrived in Caracas. At
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs it was
handed to Bello to translate. He laid
it aside temporarily. Two days later
he picked it up, started to read, and
bolted from his chair, electrified by
the news—the most exciting of the
century! Napoleon had invaded
Spain, dethroned King Ferdinand
VII, placed his own brother, Joseph,
on the throne, and declared the
Spanish colonies of America under
his rule.

Caracas seethed. French emissaries
arrived demanding fealty to the new
king, Joseph Bonaparte. Caracas
parried for time, learned that Spain
had revolted and was forming juntas
to support King Ferdinand, then
made its decision quickly—to expel
the French invaders and send a com-
mission to London to ask aid from

the English in this venture. As secretary of this commission Bello began his international career. An experienced political leader, Luis López Méndez, was chief of the junta. Simón Bolívar, twenty-three years old, was the third member; but his fiery disposition was not suited to diplomacy, and he soon returned from London to Venezuela. With him was another leader, Miranda. The two had one idea—to induce Venezuela to revolt.

Bello remained in London and wrote long letters to the *Times* to awaken English sympathy for the cause of South American independence. Everything progressed smoothly until 1812; then the royalists in northern South America gained the upper hand. Miranda capitulated, and Bolívar left Venezuela to carry on the fight elsewhere. Bello in London received no more funds. The junta collapsed. To earn his living he took a few students. Among them was charming Mary Ann Boyland, whom he married in 1815. He was acquainted with several British writers and philosophers and when groups of them met to discuss politics and international affairs, the air quivered with the violence of their debates. In 1829 he went to the land of purple lakes and thick forests, Chile, there to become the adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. His brilliant mind soon dominated the intellectual life, and in 1843 he became rector of the new University of Chile. Like many thoughtful people he found in a return to the soil an antidote for the poison of civic and personal discord and international strife. In one of his poems he chants:

O, youthful nations, ye who lift your
heads
Encircled with new laurel wreaths of vic-
tory,
Before the gaze of an astounded West!
Do honor to the fields, with honor lead
The farmer's simple life, homely and
frugal.
Thus freedom shall abide with you for-
ever,
And ye shall always curb
Ambition and respect law's sacred might.

Bello was an exponent of the rather formal, classic style of writing. At eighty-four years of age he died, honored and revered. If Olmedo was an example of devotion to home and city, Bello is a fine symbol of devotion to a continent.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888). "I come with my fists crammed with truth!" announced a young man with an imposing and dignified manner. This young man was Domingo Sarmiento. He had just arrived in Chile after crossing the snowy Andes from Argentina, whence he had fled the tyranny of the dictator Rosas. He immediately entered the Chilean arena of literature and politics and tangled with Bello in a controversy about literature which attracted national attention. He insisted that Chile should enlarge her mental scope and seek ideas from all people everywhere. Immediately following the publication of a poem by Bello, Sarmiento retaliated with an article, "Why Are There No Poets in Chile?" He answered the question by accusing the Chilean writers of keeping their old classic forms, stereotyped style, and worn-out subject matter. Barbs of angry criticism began to fly about his head. Bello's friends called

Sarmiento a foreign foe; Rosas demanded that Chile return him to Argentina to be tried for treason. But Sarmiento had friends, too. Manuel Montt, Minister of Education, advised the young radical, with the shining light of genius in his eyes, to go abroad to study and report on education. Sarmiento was transported with happiness. One of his cherished wishes had been to visit the old and famous cities of Europe. He went first to France, which he admired for her wisdom and enlightened attitude. Spain he disliked, feeling it was too backward. Then he sailed to the United States, and he was delighted with our country. Here was what he had been searching for—a country where people had enough to eat and where people had a press that told them what was happening in all parts of the world, where deserts were being conquered, and new fields cultivated. Best of all here was a man by the name of Abraham Lincoln, who was uttering flame-tipped words about the bulwarks of liberty and independence. Sarmiento later wrote a life of Lincoln. It is interesting to consider the traits which these two men had in common. Both were of humble origin, born in simple huts. Both were self-educated, straightforward, and nonacademic. Both were humanitarians, and both became presidents of their countries.

Sarmiento's admiration for the United States was so sincere and profound that Argentina accused him of clear-cut prejudice in favor of the Northern country. In the more than fifty books which he wrote there is hardly one in which he does not make

favorable mention of our country. We remember with gratitude the following tribute to the United States:

Today, North America invades the world, not with products and inventions, but with engineers, craftsmen, and machinists who teach how to produce greatly at little cost, how to dare all, and how to realize marvels. Not only in the useful arts, but also in the works of the intellectual, the North Americans are beginning to take their proper place. You are acquainted with Cooper, Washington Irving, Prescott, Bancroft, and Sparks, as historians of the first rank in American literature, some of them even daring the clarifying of certain episodes of European history; but also there is a great number of renowned writers who have treated the speculative questions of philosophy, political economy, and theology. Let it suffice to say that in the twelve years up to 1842, there have been published one hundred and six original works of biography, one hundred and eighteen on American geography and history, ninety-one on the same with respect to other countries, nineteen of philosophy, one hundred and three of poetry, one hundred fifteen novels, while almost at the same time three hundred eighty-two original American works had been reprinted in England. . . . Orators and statesmen like Everett, Webster, Galhoun, Clay are equaled only in France and England. . . . Travelers, naturalists, archeologists, who venture to enrich and even remake science, are comparatively abundant.

Sarmiento said, "The schools are the basis of prosperity and of the republic in the United States." He sent books and machinery to Argentina and, when he returned, brought with him United States teachers, who introduced both the normal school to prepare teachers and the kindergarten. About forty of these teachers arrived in Argentina between 1870 and 1898. Many of them spent the rest

of their lives there. Their graves are honored today, and schools bear their names.

While in the United States Sarmiento became a good friend of Mr. and Mrs. Horace Mann. The latter translated his book, *Facundo*, which is an attack on the dictator Rosas. The English title is *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants, or Civilization and Barbarism*. Though this book contains historical errors, it remains great because it portrays human nature as it is; traits which manifest themselves in destructive wars which sear and scar the face of the civilized world today. The first section concerns the life of the cowboy on the Argentine plains—a life of adventure and virility. Sarmiento shows that the Gaucho has a proud disdain for the city dweller who cannot throw a fierce bull, who cannot halt a tiger with a poncho wrapped about one hand to thrust into the animal's mouth, whilst the other hand plunges a dagger into its heart. He shows how these accomplishments, with others related to overcoming obstacles and challenging nature, developed in the Gaucho a high sense of individual importance and superiority which are predominant characteristics of the present-day Argentinians.

The second part of the book contains this description of Facundo:

Facundo was short and thick-set in stature; his broad back supported upon a short neck a well-formed head, covered with very dense hair, black and curly. His slightly oval face was sunk in a forest of hair; to this corresponded an equally thick beard, equally black and stiff, which extended to his cheek bones, sufficiently pronounced to reveal a firm

and tenacious will. His black eyes, full of fire and shadowed by heavy eyebrows, caused an involuntary sensation of terror in those who might some time chance to gaze at him, for Facundo never came face to face with anyone. From habit, from art, or from a desire always to make himself terrible, he ordinarily carried his head bent low and he looked through his eyebrows.

Sarmiento returned to Argentina in 1851 and continued to attack Rosas, whose rule was weakening. Sarmiento decided to unite his fortunes with one of Rosas's former lieutenants, General Justo José de Urquiza, the governor of the province of Entre Rios. In the battle of Monte Caseros in 1852 Urquiza, with General Mitre at his side, totally defeated Rosas.

Now began the stupendous task of rehabilitation. Urquiza became president in 1854, Mitre in 1862, Sarmiento in 1868. During the intervening period the wanderer again visited the United States as Argentina's minister. His stay was a continuous ovation. Congress invited him to preside over one of its sessions—an unusual honor. The University of Michigan presented him with an honorary degree. Other educational and scientific societies honored him. Emerson and Longfellow became his friends. It was during these happy years in Washington that Sarmiento wrote his life of Lincoln. He declared at that time,

South America lacks antecedents of government in her own colonial history, for she must not ask light upon the art of governing from Felipe II or Fernando VII. Nothing better would be given us by France, whose publicists can only be pardoned, like the Magdalen, for their much loving. The political school for South America is in the United States, as the sharer of English liberties, as the creator of a government absolutely free

and very strong, by exception, which in peace has built up the most prosperous nation of the earth.

While this impetuous leader was a representative in congress, following his presidential term, an argument occurred concerning the investment of 800,000 pesos in a railway between San Fernando and Buenos Aires. Representatives considered this sum excessive. Sarmiento, however, asserted the railway would soon be worth 8,000,000 pesos. The incredulous laughter of the members stung him. He shouted, "80,000,000 pesos!" (More laughter.) "800,000,000 pesos!" Then in a voice of thundering fury, "I request the stenographers to make record of this hilarity in the minutes. I wish the generations of the future to appreciate my unshakable confidence in the progress of my country and at the same time (sweeping the seats with a contemptuous glance) with what kind of men I have had to contend!" The railroad of Argentina now represents a capital of more than 1,000,000,000 pesos.

Sarmiento was a man of contrasts; he lived an international life, but he loved the solitude of an island in the green stillness of the Paraná River. When he first stepped upon this island, he fired a shot into the air, imitating the gesture of the conquistadors on taking possession of new lands. He built three huts, made paths through the woods, and rowed in the waters that surrounded his idyllic retreat.

During the last part of his life he lived with his daughter, who had married a French painter, Jules Belin. In 1886, on the advice of his doctor, Sarmiento went to Tucumán. Strolling on the streets one day, Sarmiento

was recognized by a crowd, who followed him in silence and respect. He was sincerely touched by their affection and remarked, "As it happened with Dante in Florence, they stop to look at me because I am the man who has been lowered into Hades." Still seeking health, he went to Asunción, the city which is nestled in a curving riverbank. But early one morning in September, 1888, while watching the sky turn from silver to gold, he fell asleep. On this day the sun looked its last upon one of the world's great men, a man who had declared, "There is nothing and there is no one who shall hinder me."

José María Heredia (1803-1839). Another great writer who lived in the United States for a brief time and worked hard for democracy was the Cuban poet and patriot, José María Heredia. Cuban independence, while postponed until 1898, was the object of constant struggle from the days when other Spanish-American countries freed themselves from Spain. Because Heredia was an enthusiastic advocate of independence, he was exiled from his native land. He went to Boston, where he lived for a year in poverty and ill health, eking out a miserable existence by teaching a few classes in Spanish. The high point of this period was a journey which he made to Niagara Falls. That marvelous site inspired him to return to his writing. His "Ode to Niagara" is often called the finest description of that, cataract ever written.

Ode to Niagara

Tremendous torrent! for an instant hush
The terrors of thy voice, and cast aside
Those wide-involving shadows, that my
eyes

May see the fearful beauty of thy face!
 I am not all unworthy of thy sight,
 For from my very boyhood have I loved,
 Shunning the meaner track of common
 minds,
 To look on Nature in her loftier moods.
 At the fierce rushing of the hurricane,
 At the near bursting of the thunderbolt,
 I have been touched with joy; and when
 the sea
 Lashed by the wind hath rocked my bark,
 and showed
 Its yawning caves beneath me, I have
 loved
 Its dangers and the wrath of elements.
 But never yet the madness of the sea
 Hath moved me as thy grandeur moves
 me now.

Thou slowest on in quiet, till thy waves
 Grow broken 'midst the rocks; thy cur-
 rent then
 Shoots onward like the irresistible course
 Of Destiny. Ah, terribly they rage—
 The hoarse and rapid whirlpools there!
 My brain
 Grows wild, my senses wander, as I gaze
 Upon the hurrying waters, and my sight
 Vainly would follow, as toward the verge
 Sweeps the wide torrent. Waves innumer-
 able
 Meet there and madden—waves innumer-
 able
 Urge on and overtake the waves before,
 And disappear in thunder and in foam.

They reach, they leap the barrier—the
 abyss
 Swallows insatiable the sinking waves.
 A thousand rainbows arch them, and
 woods
 Are deafened with the roar. The violent
 shock
 Shatters to vapor the descending sheets.
 A cloudy whirlwind fills the gulf, and
 heaves
 The mighty pyramid of circling mist
 To heaven. The solitary hunter near
 Pauses with terror in the forest shades. . . .

God of all truth! in other lands I've seen
 Lying philosophers, blaspheming men,
 Questioners of thy mysteries, that draw
 Their fellows deep into impiety;

And therefore doth my spirit seek thy
 face
 In earth's majestic solitudes. Even here
 My heart doth open all itself to thee.
 In this immensity of loneliness
 I feel thy hand upon me. To my ear
 The eternal thunder of the cataract brings
 Thy voice, and I am humbled as I hear.

From the United States Heredia
 went to live in Mexico. There he at-
 tracted wide attention, not only as a
 writer, but as a judge of a federal
 court and an advocate of freedom.
 The centennial of Heredia's death in
 1939 attracted much attention. A
 project to erect a monument to him
 at Niagara Falls has not been carried
 out but offers an opportunity of doing
 justice to this great visitor, and also
 of more closely cementing relations
 among the Americas.

PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION AND DISILLUSIONMENT

While the Latin Americans were
 wrestling with their problems, after
 winning independence, political divi-
 sions and dictators multiplied. Critics
 whined that their native lands were
 failures; that organization could not
 be achieved; that a worse state pre-
 vailed than that of colonial times.
 But a worthy group of philosophers
 appeared to combat and disprove
 these false claims. Francisco de Paula
 González Vigil of silver-rich Peru was
 a notable defender of liberalism. José
 Victorino Lastarria waged a literary
 battle for democracy in Chile. An-
 other friend of freedom was found in
 the person of the Ecuadorean Juan
 Montalvo (1833-1889), who exalted
 Christianity as the author of democ-
 racy. Many believed Montalvo's pen
 responsible for the downfall of the

dictator of Ecuador, García Moreno. He attacked the next two rulers of his country with equal fervor. His diatribe against Veintemilla is particularly scathing:

Ignacio Veintemilla has not been and will not be a tyrant; his brain is so small that he is but slightly removed from the brute. His heart does not beat—it wallows in a mass of mud. His are base, insane passions. His impulses are those of matter corrupted and stirred by the devil; the first of them pride, the second avarice, the third lechery, the fourth anger, the fifth gluttony, the sixth envy, the seventh laziness. This is the composition of that piece of flesh called Ignacio Veintemilla.

Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884). The greatest of all political writers during this epoch was the Argentinian Juan Bautista Alberdi, whose book *Bases for the Organization of the Argentine Republic* had an important influence in the forming of the country's constitution in 1853. He was to Argentina what Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists were to the United States. One of his books, *The Crime of War*, advocated the outlawry of war in much the same way as some of our contemporary North American writers since the first World War have protested against armed strife. Alberdi, like some of his brilliant predecessors, was exiled by Rosas because of his democratic beliefs (1837).

Manuel González Prada (1848-1918). From this galaxy of workers for democracy in Latin America, we now pick another type, Manuel González Prada of Peru. He was the great critic and radical of his time. A brilliant essayist, he was master of a faultless Castilian style, and the acknowledged leader of a whole group of young disciples. They, like him-

self, saw nothing in life but suffering and abuses by politicians. Prada's poetry is severe, free of rhetoric, often filled with satire. His prose, says one critic, "is the most limpid ever written in Peru, the most chiseled in the Americas."

In his youth Prada saw his country humiliatingly defeated by Chile, causing the loss of her precious nitrate fields. He observed the same cowardice and appeasement among politicians in his government as brought the downfall of France in 1940. Instead of harboring bitterness toward Chile, he sought to show his own country that it must reform.

"Old men to the tomb, young men to the front," he said. Naturally young men rallied to him. He founded and edited numerous newspapers which were often suppressed. He fought military dictatorships; he believed ardently in democracy. His was "the most diamondlike spirit produced by Peru, and one of the greatest by the Americas." Disappointed in the slow progress of his country, he attacked *la mentira social* ("the social lie"). Despair overcame him at times. "Littleness abounds in everything," he says, "littleness in character, littleness in heart. . . . Why deny human perversity? There are men who kill by their very shadow, like the manchineel of Cuba or the upas tree of Java." At such times he would laugh at friendship. "Our friends are accursed plots where we sow wheat and reap weeds. . . . Why desire to live? If life were a blessing, the surety we have of losing it would of itself suffice to turn it into an evil."

Following this Peruvian critic a school of writers began to study the

weaknesses of their countries and to make an analysis of their people. They saw a new imperialism in the United States, destined to overcome Latin America if she did not repair her weaknesses. They usually believed in close relations with Latin Europe. At this time three writers, Zumeta of Venezuela, Argudas of Bolivia, and Mendieta of Nicaragua wrote books with practically the same title, *The Sick Continent*.

Rufino Blanco Fombona. One of the most colorful of these social critics was Rufino Blanco Fombona, who was born in Venezuela in 1874. He was in and out of jail constantly until he moved to Spain. He was a great reformer with a violent temper. He developed the reputation among his friends of never returning home with his walking stick. During the day he was sure to have an argument with someone about a reform. The argument growing heated, Blanco Fombona would break his walking stick over the head of his opponent. There are stories about how Blanco Fombona formed a dislike for the United States. One of these relates to an occasion when the poet was conversing with a friend in New York. An intoxicated individual who overheard them objected to their speaking Spanish. A row occurred. Police interfered and took Blanco Fombona and his friend to jail for the night. This was an attack on their dignity that they could never forget.

In *Political and Social Evolution of Spanish America*, this critic studied the conflict of the classes during the Spanish domination. He argued that civil wars are explained by the mixed Indian populations, sparsity of in-

habitants, scarcity of railroads, ignorance, and lack of liberty. In spite of these things he believed in the great destiny of the continent. He worked out these problems in his two novels translated into English under the titles, *The Man of Iron* and *The Man of Gold*.

For his work on the life of his compatriot, Simón Bolívar—a manifestation of Blanco Fombona's patriotism—he was elected to the Academy of History in Spain. He has filled many diplomatic posts. As governor of the federal territory of Amazonas, a grim region near the Colombian frontier where law was largely a matter of personal opinion, he became familiar with scenes, types of people, and situations that have been recreated in several of his stories.

The great interest in Blanco Fombona's works is attested by their having been translated into many foreign languages: English, French, Italian, Russian, and Swedish. His short stories are characterized by brevity, irony, and vivid emotional effect.

A Gaucho Epic. About 1870 Buenos Aires began to forget its country cousins and transform itself into a European city. French literature was all the style. All at once the public was made aware of the great riches it possessed in the colorful life of its Gauchos, or cowboys. In 1872 the greatest poem ever written about cowboy life was published. It was entitled *Martín Fierro*, after a certain Argentine plainsman. The author, José Hernández, initiated a new kind of American literature, which has since become popular—the collecting of folk songs which record the customs of a strong frontier people.



Photo from Philip Gendreau

The pampas of Argentina and Uruguay are as famous in literature and history as are the great prairies of the United States. The Gauchos, their horses, herds of cattle and sheep, and campfires form the basis of many Latin-American poems and stories.

The greatest of modern Spanish writers, Miguel de Unamuno, says:

Martín Fierro is the most profoundly Spanish of all Spanish-American writing. When a minstrel of the pampas beneath an ombre tree, in the boundless calm of the desert or in the peaceful, starlit night, sings to his guitar the monotonous songs of Martín Fierro, then the Gauchos hear with deep emotion the poetry of their pampas. They feel surging from the depths of their soul the echoes of this mother country, Spain.

The *Payadores*. The best of these singers were called *payadores*. Many stories are told of the skill of these singers in playing and composing. Often two rival *payadores* met, and then the fun began. Men bet their horses, their ponchos, their month's pay, on their favorite *payador*. At night around the campfire the contest would begin, and one of the contenders would sing a stanza that he had composed on the spot. The other would carry on the story without hesitation. One of these stories is about the Gaucho who wanted to court the lady of his choice, but he could neither sing nor play. This called for ingenuity. He caught a handful of crickets and put them inside his guitar. At dusk he stood beneath the balcony of his beloved's house. The crickets, accustomed to sing at that hour, burst forth into a melody of sweet sounds. The effect was so novel that the lady was delighted, and the Gaucho's suit was rewarded.

MODERNISM

Modernism is the name given to the most important period of Latin-American literature. The movement began about 1890. Weary of the old

models, and with a new appreciation of German, French, Russian, and North American literature, writers began to break away from old forms. Liberty of expression, free verse, and new metric combinations came into being. Spiritual restlessness led to an analysis of "our tortured and complex soul," as one of the writers expressed it. This new group avowed that its "mission is to sing again of America, of Columbus, and Bolívar." It claimed to present Latin-American ideals and aspirations.

Rubén Darío (1867-1916). The outstanding genius of this school was Rubén Darío of Nicaragua. He has written with such beauty of form and sentiment that he is regarded by many as the greatest of modern lyricists. It is in Darío that the undertone of despair which characterized this entire school finds its most arresting voice.

Darío was born in Nicaragua in 1867. An unhappy married life separated his mother and father, and the boy spent his youth under the guardianship of different persons and in different countries of Central America. At an early age he gained the reputation of a genius both in Nicaragua and in El Salvador. While visiting Chile in his early twenties, he was offered a position on the editorial staff of *La Epoca* of Santiago. He accepted the position and immediately started on his career as a literary figure of the first magnitude. It was in Chile that he wrote his famous collection of poems entitled *Azul*, meaning "blue," a color which to him was symbolic of his ideals and dreams. This initial work in modernism caused a sensation. Before leaving

Chile, he was named correspondent for *La Nación*, the famous daily of Buenos Aires. That position, which rendered him an income for life, assured him the leisure necessary for good writing.

Darío returned to his native Nicaragua for a brief stay. His government appointed him to represent that republic in Madrid during the festivities in honor of the great discoverer, Columbus. Through travel in Spain and later in France, Darío met personally many poets and literary men who had influenced him. He was an ardent admirer of Victor Hugo, Verlaine, and other French writers. His salon became the social center of Latin-American artists and writers.

Darío's philosophy of enjoying today because tomorrow will bring disappointment is expressed thus:

Rejoice in the sun, in the pagan
light of its fires;
Rejoice in the sun, because tomorrow
ye will be blind.

Rejoice in the earth, which a
sure blessing incloses;
Rejoice, because ye are not yet
buried in its bosom.

It was in his beloved Paris that Darío met a young Mexican poet who was to become his lifelong friend, Amado Nervo. Nervo had made his way in poverty to Paris, the mecca of every Latin-American writer. The already well-established Darío took in the young, unknown writer and gave him a home. They became inseparable friends.

This lifelong friendship that began in Paris reminds us of the friendship of Bello and Olmeda, begun in Lon-

don fifty years before. In Madrid stands a beautiful monument marking the devotion of that city to the two poets. On one side of the stone is sculptured the likeness of Rubén Darío; on the other that of Amado Nervo.

Darío tasted all that is sweet and bitter in life. He was crowned with many honors. His cosmopolitan life was spent in Paris, Madrid, Buenos Aires, and New York. But this Bohemian existence palled on him. His last days, which he spent in Spain, were days of disillusionment.

Darío was one of a group of Latin-American writers (which included Rodó, Blanco Fombona, and Manuel Ugarte), who were frightened at the advances made by the United States following the Spanish-American War. Darío wrote a fierce attack on the United States, dedicating the poem to Theodore Roosevelt as the instigator of the revolt in Panama. This poem became so popular that it was recited in the schools and at literary events all over Latin America. A part of the poem reads as follows:

'Tis only with the Bible or Walt Whitman's verse,
That you, the mighty hunter, are reached
by other men.
You're primitive and modern, you're
simple and complex,
A veritable Nimrod, with aught of Wash-
ington.
You are the United States;
You are the future foe
Of free America that keeps its Indian
blood,
That prays to Jesus Christ, and speaks in
Spanish still.
You are a fine example of a strong and
haughty race. . . .
The United States are rich; they're power-
ful and great;

They join the cult of Mammon to that of
Hercules,
And when they stir and roar the very
Andes shake. . . .
And though you count on all, one thing
is lacking—God!

Fortunately, years afterward, Darío saw things in a different light. He made up for his former attack by writing another poem entitled *Salutación al Aguila* ("Salute to the Eagle"), as a welcome to the delegation from the United States at the Third Pan-American Conference at Río de Janeiro in 1906. Here he prays for the political and material success of North America. If the Eagle will remember that the Condor, as his brother, exists also in the lofty heights, they together may achieve miracles. Swept along by the theme, he prays:

Peace to stupendous America! Peace in
the name of God!

And as hers is the center of a new culture
That spreads its principles from north to
south,

Let us build a new union that unfurls a
new device;

The Star Spangled Banner with its red,
white, and blue.

Amado Nervo (1870–1919). Amado Nervo was born in a little country town on the west coast of Mexico in one of the wildest regions in America. His devout mother made a fifteen-day trip in a stagecoach to take her young son to a school where he began to prepare for the priesthood. It was not long before he abandoned his studies and made his way alone to Mexico City. There he had all the adventures and encountered all the trials supposed to await a young poverty-stricken poet in a big city. Hungry and discouraged, he took a job in

a grocery store—not so much for the meagre wage as for the chance of getting wrapping paper on which he could write his verses. Later he became a famous poet.

Following a custom in Latin-American countries of making their distinguished literary men diplomatic representatives, Mexico appointed the poet to the diplomatic service in 1905 and assigned him to Spain. During his thirteen years of residence in Madrid he wrote twenty-one of his twenty-nine published volumes. His last post was in Buenos Aires, where he was overwhelmed with attentions and invitations to read the productions of his pen. When journeying to this city he passed through New York. There, at Columbia University, he entertained a large audience by reading, among other of his poems, *La Raza de Bronce* ("The Bronze Race"). A part of this poem is as follows:

I'm only a spark,
Make me a fire;
I'm only a string,
Make me a lyre;
I'm only an ant hill,
Make me a mountain;
I'm only a drop,
Make me a fountain;
I'm only a feather,
Make me a wing;
I'm only a rag,
Make me a king!

Nervo is beloved by all Latin America as the dreamer and mystic who exalts suffering as life's great teacher. Thomas à Kempis, Saint Francis of Assisi, and Jesus Christ were his heroes.

Concerning Christ he said: "Cast him out of Nazareth, and he will fill the earth. Cast him out of the earth,

and he will fill history. Cast him out of history, and he will fill the Infinite."

In spite of such faith, Nervo was drawn away from his early devotion to the Church and wandered in many philosophical byways. This makes the study of the inner life of Amado Nervo as fascinating as his poetry. He is typical of the land of his birth, where both religion and skepticism find a place. If Nervo could have been a thoroughgoing skeptic or a thoroughgoing mystic, he might have been satisfied. But he could give himself completely to neither. He later came to believe that helpfulness to others was the essence of religion. He declared: "If thou hast performed a good deed, thou hast unquestionably felt a secret joy proportionate to the disinterestedness of that deed. This joy is God. Thus he manifests himself to the soul."

Nervo died while attending a Pan-American Child Conference at Montevideo in 1919. His funeral was one of the finest tributes ever paid to an individual on the American Continent. Argentina furnished a battleship to convey his body to his native Mexico. As the ship proceeded up through the South Atlantic, distinguished delegations from Brazil, Cuba, and other countries took their places in the funeral procession, which stopped from time to time at various ports, where honors were rendered to the poet. When the procession arrived at Veracruz, a national holiday was declared by the Mexican government, since the whole nation seemed desirous of rendering honor to their beloved singer.

The following extract from his

prose will help us to understand the essentially religious spirit of this great writer:

If you are small, rejoice; for your smallness serves as a foil for the largeness of others throughout the universe; because this smallness constitutes the essential reason for their largeness; and because, for them to be large, they have need that you should be small, just as the mountain, to stand out, must rise among hills, ridges, and peaks.

If you are large, rejoice; because the invisible is revealed in you in a more excellent way; for you are one of the eternal architect's successes.

If you are well, rejoice; because in you the forces of nature have reached maturity and harmony.

If you are ill, rejoice; for there are fighting in your organism contrary forces, which perhaps are seeking a beautiful result; because in you is striving that divine alchemist called Pain.

If you are rich, rejoice; for all the favors that fate has placed in your hands, that you may dispense them.

If you are poor, rejoice; because your wings will be lighter, and life will keep you less pinioned; for the Father will work in you, more readily than in the rich, the dear periodical miracle of the daily bread.

Rejoice, if you love; because you are more like God than others.

Rejoice, if you are loved; because there is in this a wonderful predestination.

Rejoice, if you are small; rejoice, if you are large; rejoice, if you have good health; rejoice if you have lost it; if you are poor, rejoice. Rejoice if you are loved; if you love, rejoice. Rejoice always, always rejoice.

PERIOD OF AWAKENING

José Enrique Rodó (1872-1917). The end of the nineteenth century marked in South America an awakening in spiritual ideals and principles. José Enrique Rodó, the greatest writer of that time and perhaps in all South

American history, stands out as a crusade for ideals. His life and writings illustrate the happiness that can come from following one's inner spiritual desires. They show also the final disillusionment which comes at beholding the triumph of baser forces. Rodó was born in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1872 of a Uruguayan mother and a Spanish father. At four years of age he read fairly well. At eleven he was editor of a boy's newspaper. At twenty-two he received from the University of Montevideo its highest degree in literature. Following the publication of a collection of sonnets and essays he was appointed professor of literature at the University of Montevideo. This position enabled him to finish his famous study about the Nicaraguan poet, Rubén Darío, and the most famous of all his works, *Ariel*. He resigned his professorship at the university in order to enter politics. He was elected to the Uruguayan congress, edited a newspaper, and represented Uruguay at the Centenary celebration of the Republic of Chile. He performed important duties for several Uruguayan presidents. He became disillusioned by the political life of the country and what seemed to him a tendency to move away from democracy.

During the first World War he was appointed as the representative in Europe of a Buenos Aires magazine. But his spirit was already broken. After he went to southern Italy, his friends lost sight of him. Later, they found him dead in a country inn. Thus ended the life of a great humanist, whose ideals could find no fulfillment in a materialistic world, torn by war.

Rodó's most famous book *Ariel* (the name of a character in Shakespeare's *Tempest*) is set in the familiar scene of the classroom. A beloved professor calls his students around him for their last meeting of the year. The old teacher pours out his heart to his students. He begs them to choose not the spoils of politics and riches, but the worship of the inner life. They must live their democracy. His ideal for America is the preservation of Latin-American dreams in this prosaic modern age. They must unite the strength of Christianity and the beauty of Grecian philosophy. All people are not the same—inequality is the rule of life. Never seek the low level of the crowd. Rivalry and utilitarianism are essential attributes of the young North American democracy. The excess of activity, the growing power of riches and commercialism in North America, work against the ideals of South America. So Rodó, the inspiring leader of young men, told the university students in 1900. Later Latin-American writers condemned him as impractical.

Gabriela Mistral (1880–). The trio, Darío, Rodó, and Nervo, all died within three years of each other, in 1916, 1917, and 1919. With their passing, the leading poet in Hispanic-America is a woman—Gabriela Mistral. In one respect, at least, she is superior to all of them—in her deep sympathy for humanity, her great social passion. She has moved away from orthodoxy out into a broad, social interpretation of Christianity. A strong statement of her faith was written in an open letter to Dr. Alfredo Palacios of Argentina, in connection with the Conference on Chris-

tian Work in Montevideo in 1925. Dr. Palacios had written an open letter refusing an invitation to attend the conference. He did not believe that religion would help solve social questions. Gabriela Mistral challenged Palacios on his assertion. The ensuing newspaper debate caused much interest. The Chilean poet urged co-operation between Protestants and Catholics in overcoming the enormous trend toward materialism in Latin America.

Before this literary debate the Spanish-speaking world had begun to awaken to the fact that this unpretending schoolteacher possessed the ability to arouse in her readers the noble sentiments of Christian piety and service for childhood. In 1922 the minister of Mexico to Chile invited Gabriela Mistral to visit Mexico. So popular was she in Mexico that she remained there for nearly two years. Following this, she made a brief visit to the United States, to Italy, Spain, and other European countries, and widened her fame until it reached every corner of the world. In the few weeks in which she stayed in the United States she came into contact with representatives of its idealistic school of thought and began to appreciate what the Latin Americans call *Yanqueandia*.

Chile welcomed her home with great enthusiasm. The government appointed her as a consul, and she has served her country in this capacity in Madrid, in Lisbon, and in Central America. She has been active in the International Commissions of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. She has become a world citizen, traveling wherever she hears the

call of humanity and international friendship.

The writings of Gabriela Mistral are scattered in the periodicals of Europe and America. The United States had the privilege of bringing out the first complete volume of her poems, entitled *Desolación*. The following poem shows the poet's admiration for childhood:

Little Hands

O little hands of children,
O little asking hands,
Thine are the world's green valleys,
Thine are its golden strands.

O little hands of children
Molded so satin fine
The golden sheaves bend lowly
To touch thy dimpled line.

O little anxious hands
Under the trees upstretched,
The reddening fruit, the swelling buds
Are thine, are thine, all thine.

Thine are the golden combs
Dripping with honey sweet,
And man? Alas! he passes
Nor sees nor understands.

O little pleading hands
Hands of earth's humble and lowly,
Blessed are they who fill thee
Blessed are they and holy.

And blessed, oh blessed art thou
Who hearing and heeding their plea,
Restore to their asking hands
The world of their heritage.

THE NOVEL

Poetry and political writings have been more popular in Latin America than the novel. Writers of novels have usually been more anxious to emphasize a truth or to bring about the downfall of a dictator than to write an interesting story. That is

the case of one of the earliest Argentine novels translated into English, *Amalia*.

Amalia. Written primarily as an indictment of the Argentine dictator Rosas, who had exiled the author, José Mármol, the action of *Amalia* centers on attempts to overthrow the dictator by men who are working against him in Montevideo, in Buenos Aires itself, and in the southern provinces of Argentina. Rosas is pictured as keeping his men in mortal fear of him, in exulting in the blood lost by rebellious subjects. He forces his daughter to associate with the riffraff who have joined him and to bear their insults without complaint. He seems to have kindness for no one, only zeal for keeping the country under his iron hand. His unscrupulous sister-in-law heads a network of spies. If she discovers anything suspicious in the actions of a citizen, he is immediately imprisoned or killed, and his wealth is confiscated.

The plot revolves around Eduardo, who attempts to escape to Montevideo to join an army opposing Rosas. He and his companions are set upon by Rosas's men. Eduardo, seriously wounded, is rescued by his friend Daniel, who takes him to the home of his cousin, Amalia; Amalia nurses the wounded man and insists on his remaining with her until he is well. Before he leaves, his whereabouts is discovered. He escapes, remains away for a time, then returns to marry Amalia. Just as the wedding ceremony is concluded, Rosas's soldiers break into the house, and Eduardo and Daniel are killed.

This story, written by a romanticist, exaggerates Rosas's cruelty. However,

it gives a fairly accurate account of Argentine life in 1850. At the present time the novel is especially interesting, for it shows a government in which dictatorship has no regard for individual rights and personal property and which maintains itself by terrorizing the citizens.

María. The famous novel, *María*, written by the Colombian, Jorge Isaacs, is a beautiful, sentimental description of life on a large frontier in Colombia in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is the novel which has had a wide circulation in Latin America, and it is also well known in English translation in the United States. María, as a baby, is taken into her rich uncle's home and is treated as a member of the devoted family. She and Ephraín, her oldest cousin, are just beginning to fall in love when he goes off to the city to spend six years at school. Upon his return their romance flourishes. Ephraín's father opposes the marriage and, though he finally gives his consent, it is on the condition that the boy shall go away again for a long period of study, this time to Europe to become a doctor. María becomes ill while he is gone and dies at the hour of his return.

The story tells more than the history of a thwarted love. Ephraín and his father administer the affairs of the hacienda. The boy goes on exciting hunting excursions into the depths of the jungles. He and his college friends discuss literature and philosophy. The portrayal of family life and of the beauties of the Colombian countryside are excellent.

Broad and Alien Is the World. The novel has recently had a new birth

in Latin America. It is being widely used today as a means of social reform. A publishing house in New York in 1940 offered a prize for the best novel written that year in Latin America. Both the first and second prizes were awarded for stories that advocated the improvement of the Indian. The brilliant young Peruvian, Ciro Alegría, won first prize with his book, *Broad and Alien Is the World*. Alegría is a member of the leftist political party of Peru, called *Apra*. He was exiled from Lima by the conservative government and went to live in the backwoods of Peru among the Indians. He took up writing as a means of reforming the abuses of the Indians. Although his book contains episodes as exciting as any that have ever been written, it did not win the prize for that reason. Its chief importance lies in its absorbing descriptions of Indian life in Peru. The novel concerns itself with the plight of the Indians in their relationships to the aristocratic landowners and government officials. We are first shown the deep tranquillity of Indian communal life and the absorbing love of the people for the land and crops which are theirs. Here are some passages which illustrate Alegría's style:

Fatigue always makes the journey home seem longer. But as they started down the last slope they saw afar the friendly lights of the village, glimmering sweetly in the darkness. This sight cheered them and gave them new strength. There were their homes, their land, everything that was their life and their happiness. . . . They forgot their weariness, and even the horses in spite of the brambles quickened their pace. . . .

The crop was divided among the vil-

lagers, according to their needs, and the remainder was to be kept for sale.

Somebody had spilled a little wheat in the square, and Rosendo Maqui began to shout:

"Gather that wheat up, gather it up right away. I would rather see money thrown away than God's grain, our food, man's blessed nourishment."

Gradually one begins to see the manner in which these Indians are being kept in poverty and ignorance through the greed of the aristocrats, who think of them as little better than animals. The following quotation, masterful in its simplicity, shows well this attitude:

Porfirio Medrano, who was beside Rosendo, remarked:

"The rich are always rich, and for all its weight, money never comes down . . ."

The mayor nodded his head and uttered one of those phrases for which he had been long famous:

"And if it does come down, it falls on the ground so that the poor man has to grovel to get it."

Alegría's passion for reform carries the reader along from one interesting situation to another. Not only is he eloquent in his plea for the cause of the Indian, but his beautiful style, almost poetical in quality, makes of the book an outstanding literary contribution.

El Indio. In Mexico the annual prize offered by the government was won, in 1938, by a novel concerned with the treatment of the Mexican Indians. The author, Gregorio López y Fuentes, gives his book the simple title, *El Indio*. No character is named, no village identified in this book. This may seem somewhat strange to Anglo-Saxon readers, yet the innovation is refreshing. The author's sincere

concern for the Indians is manifest in the discourse between the bureaucratic town officials and the sympathetic, tolerant schoolmaster. The former, who had always maltreated the Indians, speaks first:

"They are loafers, drunkards, thieves—a disgrace to the country! If the federal government would only give me the authority, I would march into all the ranchos with blood and fire and kill them off like beasts of the jungle!"

The schoolmaster listened patiently for awhile and then said quietly, "Well, I have a different theory about this question of the natives. Some think the Indian settlements should be colonized with whites; others consider that the problem can be solved with schools—those who hold that idea have created the word "assimilation"; but to accomplish that we need more than schools. The fact that the Indians have fled to the wildest part of the sierras shows only one thing—they do not trust us. . . . The truth is this: they have a profound distrust of us, stored up through the centuries. We have always deceived them and now they believe in nothing except their own misfortunes. . . . They mistrust us on a scale that begins at the lowest levels of the valley and reaches from the edges of the rivers to the highest mountain peaks. . . . They climbed as if escaping from a flood, until they came to where they live now."

"But your theory, señor?"

"My theory rests on restoring confidence by kindness, because fortunately the Indians are appreciative. Give them some real help. For this, there is nothing like roads. Highways teach the language better than schools. Then bring the teacher—someone who knows the customs and feelings of the Indians. Given such consideration, they would work much better—either on the land that they have or the land that would be given to them."

Anyone who is even slightly familiar with the Mexican people and the

new effort to incorporate the Indian into national life will gain from *El Indio* the content and color that make the facts live.

Don Segundo Sombra. Turning to Argentina, we find another type of development which represents certain aspects of national life. A versatile owner of a big Argentine *estancia*, or cattle ranch, Ricardo Güiraldes, in his story, *Don Segundo Sombra*, gives us a realistic and understanding picture of the activities of an Argentine cowboy, a real Gaucho who lived on the author's ranch. Güiraldes was born in Buenos Aires in 1889. He was a member of a large ranch-owning class that ruled the country. He spent most of his time in travel. His last days were spent in Paris, where his success as an author was first recognized.

The book, *Don Segundo Sombra*, was published in 1926 and immediately brought fame to its author. Around the life of Don Segundo were woven descriptions of bronco-busting, round-ups, camp-fire stories, fights, and all the varied experiences so fascinating in the life of the Argentine pampa. Waldo Frank, in his introduction to the English translation, says that this book occupies in Argentinian letters a place not unrelated to *Huckleberry Finn* in the United States. Both books tell an exciting story of adventure from the standpoint of a boy, in a boy's own language; the boys in both stories are typical products of their respective worlds. Yet these are more than adventure stories, for they give classic pictures of the traditions of the common people.

The closing words of *Don Segundo*

Sombra tell of the separation of the young man, after he had inherited a fortune, from his old foster father, Don Segundo:

Little by little my new character and tastes developed. . . . The lessons of my teacher, Don Leandro, the books, a few visits . . . to Buenos Aires, gradually made me over to what is called an educated man. Yet nothing could take the place of my experiences on the ranch. Though I would follow the new road, something untamed and hostile from my old life still remained.

This afternoon I faced the hardest blow of all. [I had to say goodbye to my old godfather.] It was impossible to hold him back any longer. I had begged. . . . But he was born to go—always to go. And the attraction of a trail was too strong in me not to make me understand how, for Don Segundo, life and the road were one.

So the young hero and the old man ride over the hills to the spot where they had agreed to say good-by. They clasp hands in silence. The young man, remaining with his new book learning, watches his old Gaucho friend, fleeing from the oncoming machine age, ride over the hill and disappear. As he sees the figure of the old cowboy for the last time, silhouetted against the sky at sundown, he realizes that it is good-by forever. Thus ends the book:

"*Sombra*—a shadow!" I exclaimed. Then I thought, almost violently, about my godfather. Should I pray or should I allow my sadness simply to flow? I know not how many thoughts overwhelmed my loneliness. But they were the things that a man does not confess even to himself. I concentrated my mind on the small details of the moment. I turned my horse about and slowly returned to the ranch. I moved as one whose lifeblood was gradually oozing out of his veins.

The Vortex. La Voragine ("The Vortex") is another type of story. It is written by the young Colombian poet, José Eustasio Rivera, whose death in New York in 1937 was mourned by his many admirers in the United States, as well as in Latin America. His book is unique in all Latin-American literature—a thrilling account in gripping prose of human, animal, and plant life in the tropics. It describes a journey of the author and his companions to the wild jungles of the Amazon Valley. The cruelties practiced by man and nature, alike in that dark, over-powering, mysterious world terrify the reader. No one can fail, for example, to be moved by the description of the invasion of an entire community by an army of tropical ants. They move in and possess a whole section of land. All life, human and animal, must flee before that devastating army of ants. Equally moving is the picture of the rubber workers and the repulsive surroundings under which they labor.

Like several other outstanding Latin-American novels, *The Vortex* reveals the feeling of discontent and mystery in the Hispanic character. Rivera ends his story with the hero leaving on a long, mysterious journey. It is, strangely enough, exactly the same way that *Don Segundo Sombra* closes. This kind of ending is much more pleasing to the South American than to have the hero marry and live happily ever afterward. The last words of the book tell us that the hero and his sweetheart are adventuring farther into the jungle, hoping against hope that those members of the party left behind will be able

to overtake them with food. The hero speaks:

"We will go on and search for the way! If we are lost, we will leave big fires burning in our path. Don't delay! We only have provisions for six days. Remember the fate of our other companions who were lost. We go forward, then, in the name of God!"

In the epilogue we are told that the explorers were never found. "The jungle devoured them."

These few novels, out of a rapidly growing list, will serve to illustrate the recent development of the social novel in Latin America. As to the future, Luis Alberto Sánchez, the Peruvian writer who came to the United States in 1942 to study our literature, says:

Our revolution will come. Those of us who have longed for riches produced by the machine are now getting tired of the bill collectors, tired of an industrial life which enslaves them to the foreigner. Already the revolution begins. Chile is returning to her love of Creole poetry. Argentina enjoys Güiraldes, with his Gaucho fantasy. After years of surrender to the foreign immigrant, that country longs again for a little poetry. Uruguay insists again on its polished philosophy, whose greatest representative, in spite of so much recent criticism, was Rodó. America, a novel country without novelists, is now attracting attention. Fore-runners like Isaac's *María* prophesied this. As for North America, her literature has already received recognition by the award of the Nobel Prize to Sinclair Lewis. Today our South is complying with an old adage and is writing in its own blood. This blood is the soil, the sky, and the human element in our daily experiences. This human America is unknown to the outside. But it will be revealed clearly when novelists appear to discover and interpret the life of this New World.

BRAZILIAN LITERATURE

The Portuguese were not so much interested in developing the intellectual life of their colonists in the New World as were the Spanish. The printing press and the newspaper did not appear in Brazil until the opening of the nineteenth century. Few writers of the earlier period are especially noted.

Brazilian Poetry. Gonçalves de Magalhães (1811-1882) is the first representative of the romantic school in Brazil. His poems are marked by a triumph of faith and exaltation of the divine. His contemporary, Gonçalves Dias (1823-1864), was more famous and by some considered his country's greatest poet. His lyrics sing themselves into the soul and his descriptions of Brazilian scenery and Indian life are impressive.

One of the things that all Brazilians remember about Gonçalves Dias is the tragedy of this great poet's death. Forced to live for many years as an exile in Portugal, the glad day finally arrived when he was permitted to return to his native land. However, within sight of the shore, his ship was capsized and the poet was drowned. Brazilians are reminded of this tragedy when they read Dias's lines, written in exile, and memorized by every Brazilian school child:

My land has spacious palms where the
song birds roam,
The birds that sing here sing not as those
at home

Our skies have brighter stars, our valleys
have more flowers.
Our forests have more life, our life has
more bowers

My land has spacious palms where the
song birds roam;
God guard me from death till I am safe at
home!

Joachim Maria Machado de Assis (1839-1908) was one of the first exponents of naturalism in the Portuguese tongue. As the most distinguished of Brazilian writers he was made the first president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, founded in 1897. The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Machado de Assis was the occasion of a revaluation of his work which confirmed definitely his overwhelming importance in Brazilian letters. His thirty-one volumes were produced while he was employed in a government office. Going back and forth from office to home, with only a visit to the bookshop of his publishers for variety, seems to have been his unfailing program. He did not travel or engage in social life, and the wonder is how he was able to know the characters he depicted so well.

Antonio de Castro Alves (1847-1871) was the first Brazilian to stress social justice in his writings. He was especially vocal in his denunciation of Negro slavery. The intensely lyric and imaginative tone of Castro Alves's poetic style is evident in *O Livro e a America* ("The Book and America"), where he chants in cosmic terms:

Fashioned for greatness,
Carved out to grow, to create, to rise,
The New World in his muscles
Feels the sap of the future.
One day Jehovah, sculptor of colossal
statues,
Tired of other designs, said:
"Go, Columbus, raise the curtain
Of my eternal workshop . . .
And bring forth America."

Still wet from the deluge,
Like some mighty Triton,
The continent awakes
To the universal concert.
Of the surrounding oceans
One brings the arts of Europe,
Another, the spices of Ceylon,
And the Andes lift their arms of solid
rock,
Pointing to the infinite.

Gazing about, America exclaimed:
"All, all moves forward! Oh, great God!
The cataracts toward the earth,
The stars in their courses,
And on the far shores around the pole
The ocean takes its flock of waves to
graze.
I want to march with the winds,
With the worlds, with the firmaments!"
And God replied: "March!"

Various schools blossomed in the field of poetry featuring cults of "green-yellowism" (green and yellow are Brazil's national colors), anecdotism, and folklorism. Among the poets who have distinguished themselves mention must be made of Casiano Ricardo, author of "Martim Cerere"; Jorge de Lima, who reflects the mystical trend in vogue in contemporary Brazil; Raul Bopp, who in "Cobra Norato" presented his country with one of its best folklore poems; Mario de Andrade, one of the first to write in "Brazilian language."

Brazilian Prose. In the first year of the twentieth century Euclides da Cunha (1866-1900) published what was to become one of the most famous of Brazilian books, *Os Sertões*. It deals with the life of the wild hinterland, described around the revolt of a religious fanatic who had been pursued by the government into the interior hills. Equally famous is the novel *Chanaan* ("Canaan") written by Graça Aranha (1868-1931). It

deals with the distressing conditions among German immigrants in the state of Espirito Santo. These two works, one a scientific and poetic description of life in the interior, the other likewise a discussion of Brazil's problem in the hinterland, but dealing with the foreign immigrant, contributed much to Brazilian social literature. Manoel de Oliveira Lima (1867-1928) was beloved alike in his native Brazil, in Europe, and in America. He wrote on a wide number of topics, and collected a remarkable library which he later presented to the Catholic University in Washington, D. C.

At the outbreak of the first World War the nationalist spirit intensified in Brazil. In this movement a São Paulo group headed by Monteiro Lobato, short-story writer and owner of a publishing house, took the lead. He believed that the true Brazil was found in the interior, free from all European influences. In 1922 the São Paulo *Semana de Arte Moderna* ("Week of Modern Art") was emphasizing nationalism on the one hand, and stimulating literary individualism on the other.

In the past few years while José Lins do Rego describes in his novels the conflict between the old rural and the new industrialized civilization, Jorge Amado develops in his social novels an openly revolutionary approach.

Brazilian literary circles were stirred in 1941 by the appearance of a realistic novel of the first order by a young author, Tito Batini. *E Agora Que Fazer?* ("And now what is there to do?", or in American slang "Where do we go from here?") is a story about

the building of a railroad on the frontier. The incidents depicted could easily apply to such a United States venture as the building of the Union Pacific, when foreign labor and foreign capital aided in developing our great West. Working on the Brazilian Northwestern Railway, which opened up the state of São Paulo, were Italians, Portuguese, Argentines, Frenchmen, and mulattoes. The center of the stage is held by an Italian worker and his family, through whose loves and struggles we realize the terrific cost in human material of the building of such a pioneer civilization.

The Brazilian writer best-known outside his own land today is probably the historian and critic, Gilberto Freyre. His principal volume thus far is *Casa Grande Senzala*. It has stirred much debate among the intelligentsia, for it endorses race mixtures, praises the contributions made by Negroes to Brazilian life. The race problem and other social questions have stirred a large school of new writers.

Brazilian critics of today are engaged in an exhaustive study of the country's literary past. There is likewise a new effort toward reknitting the intellectual contacts with the mother country, Portugal, as well as enlarging such relations with neighboring South American nations, especially Argentina, often considered Brazil's greatest rival.

RECENT LITERARY TRENDS

When the United States became closely associated with its Southern neighbors in the practical efforts to win the second World War, a much larger interest in all phases of Latin-American life developed. A student

of Latin-American affairs was asked as to what the people of the other Americas were thinking. In order to get an accurate answer, he gave several days to reading a large number of magazines from the various Southern republics. His first impression was of the large number and superior quality of these publications.

Even professional journals had, in addition to articles on economics, medicine, and housing, literary treatises of merit. As he proceeded, it became evident that there were three dominant trends in those publications. The first was a new appreciation of the United States. The second trend was the new demand for social justice. The third emphasis was an insistence on the need for developing a new American culture.

New Appreciation of the United States. A decade ago the outstanding writers of Latin America were berating Yankee imperialism. Today a majority of them advocate co-operation with the United States. This does not mean that our neighbors have forgotten the days when we used to send our marines to intervene in their affairs. Nor are they less critical of the materialistic tendencies in our life. It does, however, mean that the Good Neighbor Policy, on the one hand, and the powerful threat of Adolf Hitler, on the other, persuaded them to cast their lot with us in the greatest struggle for freedom the world has ever known.

One of the writers who has recently become a close friend of the United States is the Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral. While she was a guest of the Mexican government in 1932, reading her poems to the school children, she

wrote an article on the influences that united Spanish America. In this article she mentioned a number of things that brought these people together and closed by saying that the two most important elements of unification were the beautiful Spanish language and their mutual suspicion of the United States. The article was reproduced in *La Nueva Democracia*, a Spanish magazine published in New York, with a note by the editor inviting the writer to visit that city. In a letter of thanks, Señorita Mistral declined the invitation. She added, however, that she was expecting soon to spend a day in New York while transferring from a Mexican to a Spanish boat. On her arrival some of her admirers met her at the dock. They invited her to tea in a Park Avenue home and asked her to read her poems that night at Columbia University. Her reception was so enthusiastic that she decided not to sail on the following day. When Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union was notified, he arranged a reception for the poet in the nation's capital. The reception was attended by a brilliant group of diplomats and writers. Gabriela Mistral remained in the country for six weeks. The friendship between the United States and the Latin-American poet, which was formed at that time, has been a lasting one.

At the Buenos Aires Peace Conference in 1936, which was attended by President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull, strong evidences of a changed attitude toward the United States were found. A dinner was given in honor of a member of the United States delegation. One of the guests

was the distinguished senator and rector of the University of La Plata, Doctor Alfredo Palacios, who had at one time traveled from Buenos Aires to Mexico City warning Latin America against the United States. It was a memorable hour for all present when Palacios, in a solemn moment in the conversation, said to the North American: "You win. We must admit that the old imperialism is gone. We must now regard the United States as the champion of the democratic forces of the world." Each one of that group, whose pens are influential throughout Latin America, are now writing in hearty support of the United States.

Demand for Social Reform. The second dominant note that appears in the pages of Latin-American magazines is the demand for social reform. Latin-American writers, even more than those in the United States, appear to have recognized that the present war is really two wars. It is a titanic military struggle between the United Nations and the enemies of civilization. It is also a world-wide social revolution. Not only must the democracies win the war in order to save their political liberties; they must also clean house and dispense social justice to the mass of human beings who have hitherto lived below the margin of decency. The fact that the United States Government has recently been emphasizing the nation's responsibility for the underprivileged has played a part in building up a new appreciation for that country. Again, the settlement of the difficulties between the United States and Mexico, without forcing Mexico to eliminate its social laws in order to placate special interests of the United

States, has influenced many Southern writers to appeal to their countries to support the United States in its opposition to the Axis.

An illustration of this new interest in social justice, especially for the proletariat, or laboring classes, is found in the following statement, printed in the Ecuadorian publication, *America*:

What interests us in these national commotions is not what general may have been executed by the orders of some other general, but what is the destiny of the cane cutter of Cuba, the coffee planter in Brazil, the peon on the Argentine stock farm, the miner in Peru, the grape cultivator in Chile; in a word, what interests us is the destiny of the proletariat.

Another illustration of this newly awakened social awareness is found in the following extract from the writings of the young Venezuelan poet, Miguel Otero Silva:

The Drill

The drill enters the earth,
Venezuelan earth.
The Venezuelan man
Sweats, and sweats again.

Rattle of Yankee machines,
Cry of the Yankee engineer.

Muscles are taut and strong,
Venezuelan men,
Mulatto, Indian, Negro,
Opening up the womb
Of the Venezuelan boilers.

The Venezuelan men
Are coming home to the shanties,
Dirty and tired and hungry.
Four malarial children
Eating the dirt for food.
A trickle of greenish water
Gives the warning of fever.
His woman is waiting for him
Disheveled and full of fear:

Royal Dutch, Standard Oil
How the stocks are rising,

The dividends increasing!
Venezuelan oil,
Unreturning oil.

Rattle of Yankee machines,
Cry of the Yankee engineer,
Passage of Yankee boats.

The Venezuelan man
Sweats, and sweats again.

THE SEARCH FOR AN AMERICAN LITERATURE

The third theme sounded over and over by Latin-American writers today concerns the need of a vital New World culture. What some critics call the best literary journal published today, entitled *Sur* ("South"), is edited in Buenos Aires by a lady famed in three continents for her intelligence, hospitality, and charm, Señora Victoria Ocampo. Señora Ocampo invited a group of well-known writers from several American republics to discuss the question, Is America a Continent? That is, how far are the twenty-one American republics a unit; and to what extent do they still remain separate and individual nations in spite of the fact that they live side by side on the same continent? Most of the group agreed that there has been considerable lack of unity up to the present time but all stressed the need that writers work toward this objective.

America, North and South, has depended long enough on Europe. We in America must now assume the leadership of the world. We must create our own culture, our own philosophy, our own theories of racial relations and social organization as well as our own religious and educational ideas. Since America can never separate herself from the rest of the world, she must now accept the responsibilities growing out of her position.

Every American nation is contributing its part to the new civilization of the Western Hemisphere. The United States is the nearest approach to a political democracy. Uruguay comes closest to being a social state. Mexico is working out a new conception of the use of land and resources for the common man, especially the original American. Brazil offers the idea of a new "cosmic" race, with the lowering of barriers between white, black, and tinted peoples. Canada exemplifies the best traits of the British Empire combined with the buoyant spirit of American freedom. So from Alaska to Cape Horn, from pole to pole, we must "think continentally." We must work for an American culture suited to a New World where each individual is given his own place and government is organized for service to all.

Note: Do not forget to send for the End-of-Course Test, which you will take after completing this Course. See the instructions on "How to Use This Book."

Also, how is the Course Essay coming along?

TEST YOURSELF!

A. The Leading Figures of Latin-American Literature. Match the following leaders with the statements about them by writing before each statement the letter of the person to whom it refers.

a. Nervo	m. Hernández
b. Sarmiento	n. da Cunha
c. Rivera	o. Mármol
d. Isaacs	p. Bello
e. Alberdi	q. Alegría
f. Aranha	r. Dias
g. Olmedo	s. Blanco Fombona
h. López y Fuentes	t. Castro Alves
i. Darío	u. Rodó
j. Silva	v. Mistral
k. Güiraldés	w. Batini
l. Heredia	x. Machado de Assis

Poets and Essayists

- () 1. Ecuadorean poet who praised Bolívar in "The Victory of Junín" and later was mayor of Guayaquil
- () 2. Venezuelan poet who joined the independence movement, was sent to London, and later became rector of the University of Chile
- () 3. Argentine writer who visited the United States, wrote a life of Lincoln, and later became president of his country
- () 4. A Cuban poet, exiled because he favored independence, who wrote an "Ode to Niagara"
- () 5. An Argentine exile who wrote about his country's government as wisely as Alexander Hamilton did about our government
- () 6. A Venezuelan writer who produced two widely read novels and a life of Bolívar and who disliked the United States because he was once unfairly jailed in New York City
- () 7. The author of Argentina's epic Gaucho poem, *Martín Fierro*
- () 8. The lyric poet of Nicaragua who ushered in the period of modernism and served his country in Europe as a diplomat

- () 9. The Mexican poet-diplomat who exalted suffering and who read his "The Bronze Race" to an audience at Columbia University
- () 10. The Uruguayan essayist whose *Ariel* praises the ideals of Latin America in contrast to what he considered the materialism of the United States
- () 11. The Chilean poetess-diplomat who has great human sympathy and wrote "Little Hands"
- () 12. The Venezuelan poet who pictures the poverty of the native workers of the foreign oil companies

Novelists

- () 13. The Argentine who wrote *Amalia* in exile in order to depict the cruel dictatorship of Rosas
- () 14. The Colombian who wrote the romantic novel, *Maria*
- () 15. The young Peruvian who won the 1940 novel contest by writing *Broad and Alien Is the World*, a picture of the plight of the Indians in Peru
- () 16. The Mexican novelist whose *El Indio* describes the life of the Indians in his country
- () 17. The Argentine ranch owner who told of the friendship of a boy and a Gaucho, in *Don Segundo Sombra*, a novel which is compared to *Huckleberry Finn* in its importance to Argentine literature
- () 18. The Colombian poet and novelist who wrote a stirring story of the Amazon jungle in *The Vortex*

Brazilian Literature

- () 19. The Brazilian poet who, returning from exile, was drowned as he neared the shore
- () 20. Another poet, who denounced Negro slavery and wrote the lyric poem, "O Livro e America"
- () 21. The author of a famous historical novel about the Brazilian frontier, entitled *Os Sertões*
- () 22. The author of *Chanaán*, a novel about the difficulties of German settlers in the interior of Brazil
- () 23. The young novelist who, in 1931, wrote about the immigrants who helped build the Brazilian Northwest Railway in his *E Agora que Fazer?*
- () 24. The first president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters who wrote thirty-one volumes of poetry and won acknowledgments as the greatest Brazilian writer

B. The Development of Latin-American Literature. Each of the following statements is accompanied by a group of completions, some of which are correct. Encircle the letter of each correct completion.

1. The part which writers played in the independence movement is illustrated by the following instances:

- a. After Olmedo had written "The Victory of Junín" in honor of Bolívar, the latter sent him to London as his envoy.
- b. Bello was one of the three envoys sent to London by the revolutionary junta of Venezuela.
- c. Bello wrote letters to the London *Times* to arouse English sympathy for the independence movement.

2. Sarmiento, an example of the Latin-American author-politician, had these experiences:

- a. He was exiled by Rosas for his democratic ideas and went to Chile.
- b. In Chile Bello agreed with him that that country needed to broaden her literary horizon.
- c. In the United States he admired Abraham Lincoln and later wrote an account of his life.
- d. His attack on the dictator Rosas, entitled *Facundo*, was translated into English by his friend, Mrs. Horace Mann.
- e. When he was president of Argentina, he invited teachers from the United States and forty came during the period of 1870-1898.
- f. He wrote more than fifty books, and each one made some favorable mention of life in the United States.

3. In the period of disillusionment with the results of independence the writers served as constructive critics of their governments, for instance

- a. In Ecuador, Montalvo severely criticized the unsatisfactory regimes of Moreno and Veintemilla.
- b. The Argentine, Alberdi, wrote while in exile *Bases for the Organization of the Argentine Republic*, a book which greatly influenced the new constitution of 1853.
- c. The Peruvian, Prada, attacked political weaknesses of his country at the time of its defeat by Chile and demanded: "Old men to the tomb, young men to the front."
- d. Blanco Fombona, in his *Crime of War*, denounced the War of the Pacific.

4. The following pieces of literature deal with the life of the Gauchos in Argentina:

- a. Mármol's *Amalia*.
- b. Hernández' *Marín Fierro*.
- c. Güiraldes' *Don Segundo Sombra*.
- d. Rivera's *The Vortex*.

5. Darío, Nervo, and Mistral had the following points in common:

- a. All were lyric poets of great human feeling.
- b. All were appointed to their countries' diplomatic services.

- c. All ended their careers as bitter critics of United States foreign policy toward Latin America.
 - d. All of them visited the United States and read their poems to public audiences here.
6. These are some of the reasons why Rodó was regarded as an outstanding writer of his period:
- a. He entered Congress and wrote in praise of political life.
 - b. While professor of literature at the University of Montevideo, he wrote a study of Ruben Darío.
 - c. His *Ariel* is regarded as an outstanding expression of the ideals of Latin America.
 - d. Its general theme is an appeal to students to live by their ideals rather than by the materialism so prevalent in North America.
7. In the relationship of Darío and Nervo
- a. Darío befriended Nervo in Paris and encouraged his work.
 - b. Their friendship is symbolized by a statue in Madrid.
 - c. Darío believed in enjoying today, since tomorrow might bring suffering, but Nervo believed that suffering was beneficial to man.
 - d. Both men, at their deaths, were honored by being brought home on a battleship.
8. Gabriela Mistral's life included the following experiences:
- a. Her love of children was evidenced by her work as an educator and by such poems as "Little Hands."
 - b. Because of her disapproval of United States imperialism, she would never visit the United States.
 - c. In a newspaper debate with the Argentine senator, Dr. Palacios, she urged that Protestants and Catholics unite in working against materialism.
 - d. The first complete collection of her poems was published in the United States under the title, *Desolación*.
- C. Some Characteristics of Latin-American Literature. Each of the following generalizations about Latin-American literature is followed by a group of statements, some of which support the generalization, while others do not. Encircle the letter of each statement which *does* support the generalization.
1. Most Latin-American novels are written with a social or political purpose.
- a. *Amalia*, by Mármol, was written to denounce the Rosas dictatorship in Argentina.
 - b. *Alegria's Broad and Alien Is the World* pictures the injustices suffered by the Peruvian Indians.
 - c. The same thing is done for the Indians in Mexico by López y Fuentes's *El Indio*.
 - d. *Don Segundo Sombra*, by Güiraldes, is a plea for better treatment of the Gauchos of Argentina.
 - e. Batini's *E Agora que Fazer?* depicts the problems of the immigrants who helped to build railways in Brazil.

2. Latin-American authors are often honored by being sent abroad as diplomats.

- a. The dictator of Argentina, Rosas, sent Sarmiento as ambassador to the United States.
- b. Andrés Bello was sent to London with Bolívar as an envoy of the revolutionary junta in Venezuela.
- c. Darío went as Nicaraguan ambassador to Spain.
- d. Nervo was sent to Spain as the ambassador of Mexico, and later to Argentina.
- e. Gabriela Mistral went as Chilean consul to Madrid, Lisbon and Central America.

3. Within the past ten years, Latin-American authors have become more friendly toward the United States.

- a. Mistral in 1932 wrote that mistrust of the United States was one of the unifying forces of Latin America, but after visiting the United States for six weeks, she became a strong friend of this country.
- b. Senator Palacios of Argentina had been a severe critic of this country, but in 1936 he said that we had become the "champion of the democratic forces of the world."
- c. Darío is today less critical of President Roosevelt than he was of Theodore Roosevelt.

4. Today Latin-American writers are very much concerned with social reform.

- a. They regard the present war as in reality both a military struggle against the Axis and a social revolution for the under-privileged.
- b. The Ecuadorian magazine, *America*, says: ". . . what interests us is the destiny of the proletariat."
- c. They have praised both the New Deal in the United States and also the Good Neighbor Policy, for instance the amicable settlement of United States-Mexican questions.
- d. Such poets as the Venezuelan, Silva, write about the plight of the workers of their country.
- e. The Brazilian, Gilberto Freyre, has written in praise of the Negro contribution to Brazil's life and in favor of racial intermixture.

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. From the outline of Latin-American literature contained in this chapter, which poet would you prefer to read? Which novelist? Give your reasons in each case.

2. Explain the three dominant trends which are found in the Latin-American magazines of 1942, and give an example of each.

3. What similarity do you find in the novels of Alegría and López y Fuentes? In the poetry of Mistral and Otero Silva?

4. What message did Rodó give to the young men of his day? What comment would you make about it?

5. In Latin America many writers take part in politics and may be exiled for their views, or elevated to political or diplomatic posts. Give at least two examples each of exiled writers and of politically favored ones.

6. Summarize the life of Sarmiento. What contributions did he make to United States-Argentine understanding?

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Coester, Alfred, *The Literary History of Spanish America*, Macmillan, 1928.

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Ch. 19 (Dario).

Torres-Ríoeco, Arturo, *The Epic of Latin-American Literature*, Oxford, 1943.

Williams, Mary W., *People and Politics of Latin America*, pp. 781-805.

X. ART IN LATIN AMERICA

The growth of art in Latin America has followed the same historical periods as has the development of political, economic, and literary life in these Southern countries: pre-colonial, colonial, independence, and modern.

Pre-colonial art in Latin America was that of the original inhabitants of the country and expressed devotion to nature and pagan gods. The colonial period was mainly concerned with art which glorified the Christian religion. During the period following the acquiring of independence the art forms reflected the influence of Europe, particularly of France. Modern art is often devoted to the idea of social reform.

THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

Little is known about the art of the Indian civilizations of Latin America before the period of conquest. A few records, however, of the Aztec, Mayan, and Incan civilizations have been preserved. They, together with the writings of the conquerors, provide us with some knowledge of the art forms of these early peoples.

The earliest Indian records were in the form of books made of bark or animal skins especially treated and protected by thin wooden covers. The pages were cut and bound much as are those of our own books. Priests

and wise men spent their lives painting little colored figures on these *anales*, as they were sometimes called. They pictured strutting warriors marching to battle, kings and judges squatting patiently in judgment, and figures of the plumed serpent, representing the power of the gods, flying through the air.

When the conquerors arrived in the New World, they found that the Indians used their art forms to represent and glorify their various gods of nature, among which were those of corn, rain, thunder, and reproduction. This devotion to nature and religion was largely expressed in sculptured figures, in the architecture of their temples and tombs, in decorative pottery, in metal work, and in textiles.

Pottery. In the making of pottery, the more-advanced tribes of Mexico and South America gave free rein to their ingenuity and their sense of humor. The Chimus of Peru were known for their cleverness in designing jars and pots in the form of human heads. They made strong faces of warriors that are so real they seem even now to be on their way to war. There were faces of worn men and women who lived all their lives carrying heavy burdens, their gaze as dull and hopeless as the dead clay of which they were fashioned. Frequently pots

ART IN LATIN AMERICA

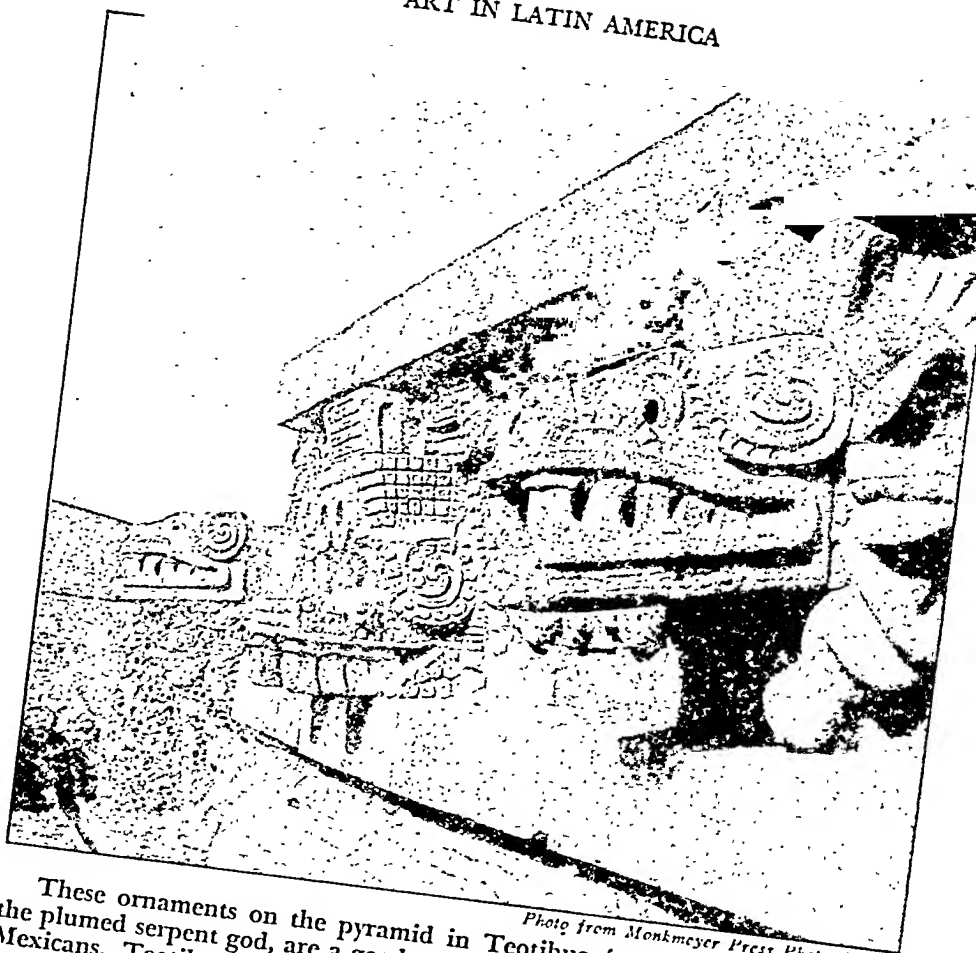


Photo from Monkmeyer Press Photo Service

These ornaments on the pyramid in Teotihuacán, Mexico, representing the plumed serpent god, are a good example of the enduring art of the early Mexicans. Teotihuacán was the center of Toltec culture.

and jars were decorated with lifelike designs of corn and other patterns taken from life.

Sculpture. Related to pottery was the art of sculpture. The Indians chipped the images of their gods out of hard, volcanic stone or jade or carved them out of bone. Most of the stone images were completely covered with solid designs and symbols, such as that of the god of corn, who sported a huge feather headdress and a train of pheasant plumes. These sculptors were extraordinarily fond

of animals and highly skilled in catching their moods.

Textiles. Textile designs were an important part of Indian art. Robes for the nobles and vestments for the high priests, made from cotton, were printed or woven with striking forms and colors. Some of these colors were sharp and brilliant, others were soft and foggy, running together like those of the rainbow.

Metal Work. The native craftsmen also knew the art of working in such metals as gold, silver, and copper. In



Photo by Mrs. Branson De Cou

A study of the many expressions on the faces of these pottery jars made by the Chimú of Peru shows that these early Americans possessed a high degree of skill in modeling and a keen sense of humor.

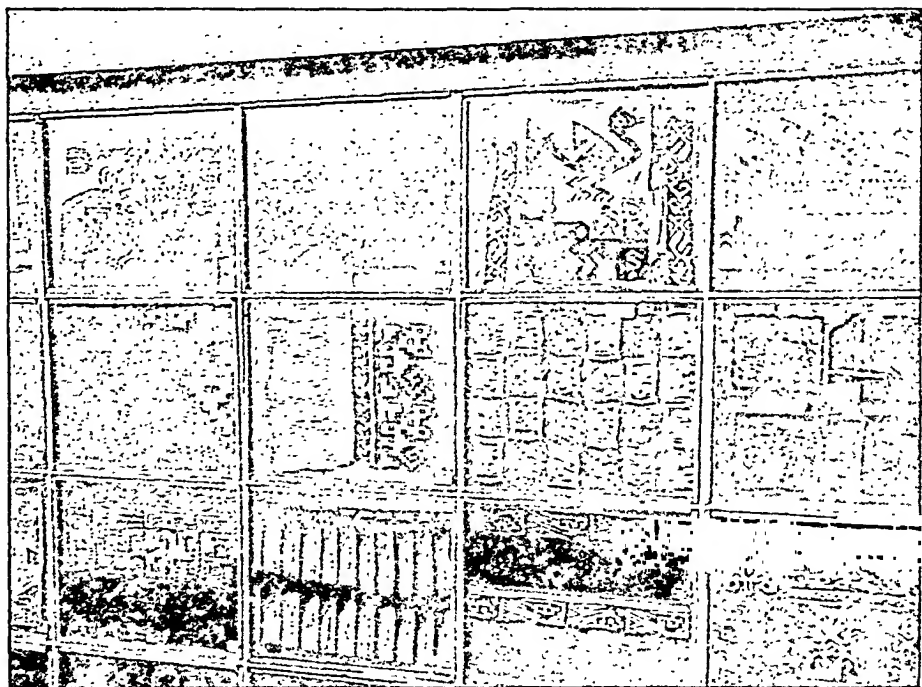


Photo by James Sanders

Peru has recently awakened to the value of the tapestries, pottery, and other remains of Inca and pre-Inca art and displays them with pride in her modern museums. The tapestries shown here are in the Lima Museum.

fact, it was the quantity of charms, jewelry, household wares, statuettes, and masks made of these precious metals and found by the Spaniards, which aroused the tales of treasure which trickled back to Spain during the period of the conquest.

Architecture. Nothing in native art was as impressive and as lasting as its architecture—especially its temples. Perched on top of enormous pyramids and reached by hundreds of steep steps, these temples were literally covered with intricate stone carvings.

Summary. Indian art, whether in painting, sculpture, pottery, metal craft, or architecture, was strong, simple, and warm. The Indian artisans knew their materials thoroughly,

whether these were stone, jade, cloth, clay, or gold. Their statues and the figures on their pottery, representing gods and warriors, are executed with remarkable vividness of expression.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

With the settling of the Spaniards in the New World began a second period in art. Along with their ideas on war, religion, and property, the Spaniards had very strong ones on art, especially religious art. They imported painters, sculptors, architects, cabinetmakers, and wood carvers who immediately put the Indian craftsmen to work. The Indians were accomplished builders and easy to train. They were skillful workers. All mate-

rials, however coarse or humble, in their hands turned into something creative. They worked in clay, iron, wood, jade, gold, silver, marble, bone, hides, and wax. They also used paints for decorative purposes.

The first thing the Spaniards did was to build churches, convents, and monasteries—hundreds of them. It was slow, painstaking work. The cathedral of Morelia was started in 1640 and was not consecrated until 1745—more than a hundred years later. A young architect would start the work on one of these buildings, grow to be an old man on the job, and finally pass it on to another young architect who in turn passed it on to another. The resultant buildings, many of which are in existence today, were a splendid combination of the best of European art and native art. The original designs were usually brought from Europe. The Indians were given a model and aided in the first construction by a European. Later, they often proved superior to their instructors in the development of beautiful columns and intricate decorations. Thus it was that the European influence on Latin-American art during the colonial period was somewhat tempered by the less formal executions of the Indian.

THE PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE

When the colonies became independent from Spain and Portugal, a feeling of loneliness came over them. They were like a young person who leaves home, seeking freedom from parental ties, and then wanders for a time without friend or companion. It was not that the young nations entirely forgot Spain and Portugal.

Rather, it was that the wounds inflicted throughout fifteen years of war for independence placed a great spiritual barrier between them and their mother countries. What should these new republics do for comfort? They sought companionship that would dispel their loneliness and bring them inspiration. This companionship they found in France.

It was the turning to France for cultural guidance after independence that caused French ideals to dominate the art of Latin America until the period of the first World War. This period was, indeed, the era of the triumph of French culture all over the world.

In the nineteenth century the official academies of the fine arts in the various Southern countries were nationalized. They continued, however, to be staffed by Europeans. In Brazil a new imperial academy was organized, but a commission of French architects, painters, sculptors, and engravers was invited to teach the courses. At this time it was possible to find the pupils of one popular French master dominating the academies of three Latin-American countries. Reactionary, supremely satisfied with what they had learned in France, they taught a competent technique but ignored the local problems with which they were confronted. Generations of pupils were denied their aid in finding national subjects as themes for their works and thus went on painting portraits, landscapes, and historical pictures as though they were working in Parisian studios. Their eyes were on the French Salon, and its standards were their only guide. Each year they imitated what had

been praised in Paris during the preceding season. All thoughts of national identity were lost in the universal desire of ambitious students to become a part of that glittering international world. Funds were raised and scholarships provided for study in Paris. The greatest hope of these young artists was to be mistaken for French painters. This accounts for the strange manner in which certain talented Latin-American artists turned their backs upon their native lands. Carlos Bacaflor, when in his early twenties, left his native Peru for Paris, never to return. He later worked in New York for two decades, but as a talented European rather than as a Peruvian. Don Nicanor Plaza, Chile's greatest sculptor, did not send his work to Santiago until after it had first been shown in the French Salon. The Uruguayan, Blanes Viale, lived on the French Riviera, painted only the landscapes of that colorful locality, and was delighted to be taken by tourists for a genuine French impressionist. These men either forgot that they were Americans or shrugged their shoulders at the idea because they knew of no real American art.

Europeans later helped the Latin Americans discover and take advantage of their own possibilities. Imitative, traditional painting was continued, it is true, but it was a far-more-profitable kind of imitation than had been practiced before.

A national consciousness in art slowly came to life. The hitherto-forbidden subject of local customs, types, and scenery began to be explored. Pancho Fierro, a Peruvian artist of the nineteenth century, has

left us a splendid series of water-color drawings of people of all classes of Lima society in the 1840's—in their houses, on their promenades, in church, and at business. Fierro's series closely parallels the work of his distinguished countryman, Ricardo Palma, who was the master in Latin America of the local-color tale. The same kind of art work was done in Chile, Colombia, and Mexico. In Argentina there was a whole school of native Gaucho painters. This school has continued to the present day. The Uruguayan master, Juan Manuel Blanes, made splendid use of Gauchos, peasants, and soldiers. He used them in symbolic historical paintings which laid the beginnings of a national tradition in art.

MODERN ART

Many Latin-American artists who had lived abroad before the first World War had to return to their native America when the war started. Only then did they begin to appreciate the artistic inspiration of their original habitation.

Mexico. The tremendous social upheaval in Mexico—the Revolution—was responsible for the starting of the remarkable school headed by Diego Rivera and honored by such names as José Clemente Orozco, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Miguel Covarrubias. Primarily interested in man rather than nature, these artists believed that the main use of art was for propaganda purposes. Imbued with the spirit of the Revolution, they decorated the walls of public buildings with the subjects and scenes for which their fellow countrymen had struggled so fiercely. It is doubtful whether



Photo from Black Star

This scene from Mexican folklore, painted by Diego Rivera, is one of the murals on the walls of the Reforma Hotel, in Mexico City.

there is in all history any such revelation of the new impulses of a people as in these marvelous murals which decorate the halls of the university, the Ministry of Education, the National Preparatory School, and the Presidential Palace in Mexico City.

This school of artistic endeavor has given Mexico the distinction of being the first American country to find its national identity in art, and the first American country that could compete on equal terms with the national schools of Europe. The work of men like Rivera and Orozco has been accompanied by a flowering of the folk arts and an extraordinarily successful program of teaching in the famous open-air schools of Mexico. This program is one in which many Indians have participated and which has trained another generation of craftsmen.

Peru and Bolivia. The example of Mexico had a direct influence on the modern art movement in Peru and Bolivia. In these countries there had also been a long background of Indian civilization and, more important, the Indians constituted a large element of the population. During the 1920's a strong, indigenous movement was born. Although this movement is not yet as developed as the Mexican school, it has made special contributions of its own.

In Peru José Sabogal, Julia Codesido, and Camilo Blas, who are in control of the government school of fine arts, have substituted an Indian for a European point of view. It is the landscape, the Indian types, and the customs of particular regions which inspire their work. They see life through the eyes of the Indian

and limit themselves to an exclusively Indian repertoire of village officials, teachers, peasants, and local festivals set against the majestic scenery of the northern Cajamarca and the highlands of the south. Unlike the Mexicans, Rivera and Orozco, these artists present no stirring social message. But it must be remembered that Peru has had no political revolution like that of Mexico, that the Peruvian Indian is still "unredeemed," and that the question of his economic position and future role in the life of the country is still unsettled.

The old Inca traditions in art have been revived by the Bolivian sculptress Marina Nuñez del Prado, by the painter Cecilio Guzmán de Rojas, whose talent was revealed especially in painting scenes of the Chaco War, and by Antonio Sotomayor, who, after studying in Europe and the United States, returned to his native Bolivia to depict the Indian in his environment of earth and stone.

Brazil. It is customary to trace the growth of the modern art movement in Brazil to the Week of Modern Art, a program held in São Paulo in 1922. At that time a group of young intellectuals, most of whom have since become internationally known, agreed in the future to write, compose, and paint along strictly national lines. In Brazil the Indians were not a national factor, but the Negroes were. Most of them had arrived as slaves from Africa two centuries before. With them they had brought all sorts of traditions, jungle art, and voodoo magic. These they had kept as part of their lives in the new country, and these, absorbed into local Brazilian culture, gave it the exotic qualities

supplied elsewhere by the Indians. Taking advantage of the remarkable tolerance and friendliness of the Brazilian people, the Negro race had already distinguished itself in cultural fields. The young intellectuals felt that Brazilian artists of all shades of color, in their artistic endeavors, should take advantage of these contributions. The music of Villa-Lobos and Francisco Mignone, the novels of Jorge Amado and José Lins do Rego, and the poems of Manuel Bandeira show how successful this effort has been. The color and rhythm of the Negro spirit has given a whole new range to American art.

Cándido Portinari and Cicero Dias are two painters who have done outstanding work in expressing Brazilian life. Portinari, like Rivera in Mexico, has created a school of his own within the general modernist movement. In 1935 he won one of the most coveted prizes of the Carnegie International Exposition for his painting of a coffee crop. Later he distinguished himself at the New York World's Fair through his Brazilian murals. In 1941 the governments of Brazil and the United States sponsored, in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, a series of four murals by this great artist. In these paintings Portinari produced scenes which were symbolic, not only of the early history of his own country, but which were applicable to other parts of South and Central America as well. His concern for the common man is well shown in the first of these murals. It portrays the arrival of ships bringing men from Spain and Portugal to the New World. Characteristically, this painting is dominated not by the captains, or

the admirals, or the priests of the conquest, but by the common sailors who manned the fleet.

Argentina and Uruguay. In Argentina the cultivation of native themes has been notable in the works of Cesareo Bernaldo Quirós, the sculptor, and of such painters as Luis Perlotti, Benito Quinquela Martín, and Alfredo Guido. It has been said that Argentine painters differ from the Mexican school since they are not provided with the passionate rhythm or with the pictorial tradition inherited by Mexican artists.

Benito Quinquela Martín is one of the greatest of Latin-American artists. He was born in a section of Buenos Aires, La Boca, which corresponds to the Bowery of New York City. He was orphaned when a child and, as a young "wharf rat," began sketching with charcoal on the sides of goods boxes. Today his murals adorn many of the public buildings of Buenos Aires and, transferred to brilliantly colored tile, delight travelers waiting for trains in the elegant subway stations of the city. But Quinquela Martín still lives with his people in La Boca. In his studio on the top floor of a large six-story building which he has given to his community for study and recreation, he looks out on the boats, the nets, the freight in the harbor, and the people that have been his life companions. As he talks, one can feel the soul of the artist going out to his neighbors. He loves the United States, where his exhibits have been warmly received.

In Buenos Aires and Montevideo there is greater technical artistic accomplishment; there are more museums, and more exhibitions than any-

where else in Latin America, except in Santiago de Chile. It is possible to see the work of all the current European schools in these cities. The result is that, in Buenos Aires especially, there exists a great mixture of European and native techniques. Every French and Italian master has his group of devotees. There are painters, like Emilio Pettoruti, who are pure cubists who stress abstract form at the expense of other pictorial elements. There are others who have imitated surrealism, with its tendency toward painting such subjects as grand pianos on the seashore and the Venus de Milo riding a bicycle. There are still others who imitate the Indian subject matter of their neighbors and who have used also the idea of the Negro in art. Then there are such artists as Gramajo Gutiérrez, who paint nothing but Argentine scenes and characters, featuring especially the life of the cattle herders and the Buenos Aires industrial workers. Their style is realistic and closely resembles the work of the late Grant Wood. These artists form a school of Argentine regionalists who have thought that by using only Argentine scenes and characters they could create something new and original. But, as one Uruguayan painter said, "Most of our fathers were from Northern Italy; our cities look like Milan and our landscapes look Italian. How can we paint anything different?" Because of European influences—more especially the Spanish—Argentina faces a similar problem in the attempt to recreate a truly Argentine art.

Summary. In every country of Latin America is to be found the earnest search for more adequate forms to

interpret the various regions constituting Hispanic America. There are elements in each of these countries that are beginning to make themselves felt as distinctive characteristics in the art of the separate nations. From Buenos Aires, which is now the publishing center for the Spanish-speaking world, there comes a steady stream of excellent books on Argentine art. Outstanding among these is the great three-volume work of José Pagano which traces the work of Argentine painters from the eighteenth century to the present day and contains special chapters on architecture and sculpture. Across the Plata River, in Montevideo, the Laboratory of Art in the National University is carrying on a related work of equal importance for Uruguayan art. This it is doing in close conjunction with an admirable periodical of scholars, the *Review of the Friends of Archeology*. In Brazil the youthful Service of the National Historic and Artistic Patrimony of the Ministry of Education has provoked such interest and approval that it is constantly expanding its activities. The movement is spreading to Central America, where in the past three years the governments of Honduras and Nicaragua have set up national schools of art with instructions to explore the possibility for similar work in those republics. In Ecuador, in Cuba, and in Colombia important research with semiofficial sponsorship is now under way.

A final aspect of the recent development of Latin-American art lies in the visits of artists and art historians from the other American republics to the United States. The exchange of materials and traveling exhibitions

go a long way toward making the art of various countries mutually known and understood. But an understanding of the underlying factors that produce the art of a foreign country can be gained only by personal visits. Hitherto Latin-American artists, if they traveled at all, went to Europe to study and to see the museums. Mindful of this fact, both the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State in the United States have made travel grants available to some of the outstanding personalities in the field of art in Latin America in order that they may come to this country.

Although they are visiting the United States in increasingly large numbers, Latin-American artists have little opportunity to go to each other's countries. Between Habana and Santiago de Chile, Mexico City, and Rio de Janeiro, distances are enormous and travel is expensive. As a result, artists know very little of each other's problems and each other's work. The Bolivian Indian painter often has no understanding of what is going on in Cuban art. The Guatemalan student of his country's folk art is generally ignorant of what has been accomplished in Peru and Argentina. This situation applies alike to art, music, and literature as well.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. Leading Figures in Latin-American Art. Match the following leaders with the statements about them by writing before each statement the letter of the person to whom it refers.

- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|------------|
| a. Rivera | f. Sotomayor | k. Blanes |
| b. Guzmán de Rojas | g. Orozco | l. Pagano |
| c. Gutiérrez | h. Martín | m. Viale |
| d. Fierro | i. Codesido | n. Sabogal |
| e. Bacaflor | j. Portinari | |

- () 1. A Peruvian painter who was typical of the nineteenth century in that he went to Paris to study and live, painting as a Frenchman
- () 2. A Peruvian painter of the 1840's who chose people of Lima as subjects for his water colors
- () 3. A Uruguayan who also chose native subjects, particularly the Gauchos
- () 4. A Mexican muralist who began painting scenes of the 1910 Revolution on the walls of public buildings
- () 5. Another leader of the Mexican muralist school of artists, whose pictures were a form of social propaganda
- () 6. A modern Peruvian painter of Indian life
- () 7. A Peruvian woman artist who is one of the directors of the national school of fine arts
- () 8. A Bolivian painter who has produced scenes from the Chaco War
- () 9. A Bolivian painter who pictures the Indians of his country
- () 10. The outstanding Brazilian painter, who did a series of murals in the Library of Congress in Washington

- () 11. An Argentine who lives in, and paints, the water-front section of Buenos Aires
- () 12. An Argentine whose paintings of ranchers and workers somewhat resemble the style of the United States artist Grant Wood
- () 13. An Argentine art historian who has published a three-volume history of the art of his country

B. The Development of Latin-American Art. In the following statements, the word in *italics* is the KEY word. If the statement is true, write the letter T in the blank. If it is *not* true, write in the blank the word which should be substituted for the key word to make the statement true.

- _____ 1. The *Chimu* Indians of Peru made pottery in the form of human heads and showed both skill and a sense of humor.
- _____ 2. Indian sculpture was largely religious and pictured the gods of corn, *war* and reproduction.
- _____ 3. In the colonial period the Spaniards taught the Indians to build, especially *military* structures.
- _____ 4. After gaining independence, Latin America largely imitated the art of *Italy*.
- _____ 5. The first Latin-American nation to develop art to express social ideals is *Mexico*.
- _____ 6. One difference between the contemporary art of Mexico and Peru is that the *former* has not had the inspiration of a social revolution.
- _____ 7. In his painting *Portinari*, the *Argentine*, emphasizes the importance of the common man.
- _____ 8. *Santiago* is the most important art center of Latin America, with many "schools" of art and many museums.
- _____ 9. In Latin America today each nation is striving for a genuinely national art, expressing the life of its people.
- _____ 10. The United States Government is encouraging co-operation in the arts with Latin America by bringing exhibits and *artists* to this country.

C. Correspondence or Class Assignments

- 1. Describe the outstanding artistic work of the Indians in the fields of pottery, sculpture, textiles, and metal work. How did the Spaniards use these artistic abilities?
- 2. What part did World War I play in ending the period of imitation of French art? Contrast the attitudes of artists like Bacallor and Rivera.
- 3. In philosophy and subject matter, compare the present-day artists of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil.

D. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Kirstein, Lincoln, *The Latin-American Collection of the Museum of Modern Art*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1943.

Rivera, Diego, and Wolfe, Bertram, *Portrait of Mexico*, Covici Friede, 1937.

Schmeckebier, L. E., *Modern Mexican Art*, Univ. of Minn., 1939.

Williams, Mary W., *People and Politics of Latin America*, pp. 805-13.

XI. LATIN-AMERICAN MUSIC

The place of music in Latin America has been carefully studied and clarified by the Section of Musical Research of Montevideo's Institute of Higher Education. In 1936 the institute published its first *Boletín Latino Americano de Música*, which is concrete testimony to the fact that Latin America is vitally concerned with music. Under the able guidance of Professor Francisco Curt Lange composers from several countries have brought out an annual volume of the "Bulletin," expounding the musical heritage of the Indians, the Spanish influence, and the current nationalistic movement. By means of such publications, and by Latin-American musical festivals such as those celebrated in Bogotá during the fourth centenary of the founding of that city, the place of music is being emphasized. Radio has been especially effective in revealing the musical genius of Latin America.

THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

There are few sources of information concerning the music of the Indians of Latin America at the time of the conquest. The sparse knowledge which is available comes from the reports of the conquerors. There are descriptions which indicate that the people of these early civilizations were

fond of music and that the chiefs often had groups of singers about them. There seem even to have been a few schools for musical training. The instruments of these Indian tribes of Latin America were very simple. Most of them were of the percussion type such as the *maraca*, a gourd filled with seeds. These Indians had some of our modern sentimental feeling also, for they used a type of flute for their love songs. However, there was never any accompaniment to their songs of victory and triumph; these were vocal only. Even today one can find a few Indians in the more isolated parts of Latin America who still cling to the old music in celebrating their ceremonies and religious rites.

When the Spanish conquistadors arrived in the New World, they brought with them ballads which were sung by soldiers around the campfires.

THE PERIOD OF COLONIZATION AND INDEPENDENCE

During the colonial period much of the Latin-American music was of the religious type. Music was essential in the church, and the early fathers found the Indian youth gifted and quick to learn. In 1525 Fray Pedro de Gante founded the first school of church music.

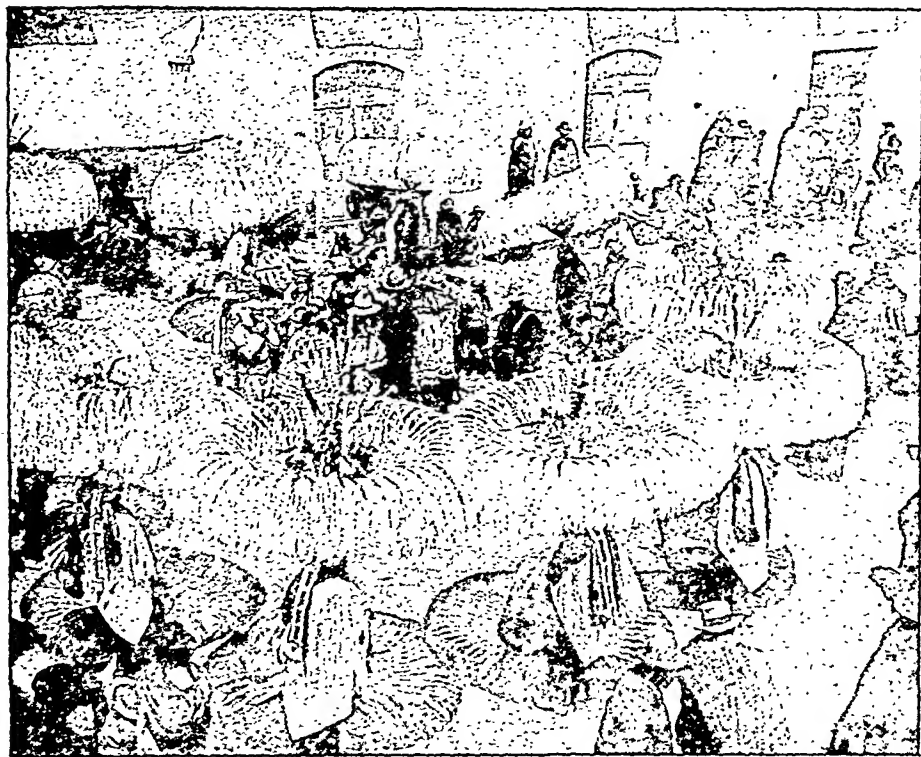


Photo by James Saunders

Dancers with plumed headdresses made of ostrich feathers perform on the streets of Sorata on festival days. Sorata lies at the foot of Mt. Illampu, highest of the Bolivian Andes. Feather work was an early native art.

Folk Music. During this period there was also a great development of native folk music in Latin America. Argentina was perhaps the first of the countries to develop music of this type. The Gaucho, as he rode over the vast pampas, led a lonely life. From this loneliness developed songs which showed the influence of the open country of the pampas on the life of the people of southern South America.

The importation of Negro slaves brought a new emphasis to the character of Latin-American music. The slaves were brought to work on the sugar and tobacco plantations. At

night, after the work of the day was over, they spent much of their time in singing. The Latin Americans were tolerant in permitting the Negroes to follow the customs of their homeland, customs which were rich in emotion, mystery, and priestly mutterings. From these the Negroes composed music of their own, the essence of which was African.

The Spanish, Negro, and Indian influences were the three chief components of the music of Latin America during the colonial period. Each country has developed certain folk music which is characteristic of its own peoples.

THE MODERN PERIOD

Among contemporary Latin-American composers the best known are probably the Brazilian, Heitor Villa-Lobos, and the Mexican, Carlos Chávez. Other outstanding figures are the Argentinians, Juan Carlos Paz, Enrique M. Casella, Honorio Siccardi, and Juan José Castro; the Peruvians, Carlos Sánchez, Malaga and Andre Sas; the Chilean, Pedro Humberto Allende; the Bolivian, Antonio Gonzales Bravo; the Colombian, Guillermo Uribe Holguín; the Uruguayans, Eduardo Fabini and Vicente Ascone. From Brazil came the composers who have distinguished themselves for their nationalism and modernity: Camargo Guarnieri, Oscar Lourenco Fernández, Francisco Mignone, and Benedicto dos Santos.

Heitor Villa-Lobos. Brazilian music is favored in the United States because of its close alliance with some of our more sophisticated Negro music. The Brazilian composer has a huge source of material for a musical background. He not only has the Negro melodies, but also the songs brought over by the conquerors and those of several different Indian groups. This country's famous composer, Heitor Villa-Lobos, is the most outstanding and the best known of all those in Latin America, with the possible exception of Carlos Chávez of Mexico. Villa-Lobos is a musical genius who has put endless effort into finding the sources and proper backgrounds for his compositions. He has always been a champion of native music and has made such a deep study of the folklore of Brazil that his music offers a significant picture of his native land.

His works have been presented in the United States and Europe by leading orchestras.

In contrast to earlier Latin-American musicians Villa-Lobos did not go to Paris until he was forty-one years old. Even then he made it clear that he did not go to learn but to show Europe what he, as a Latin American, had done, and to play for them the music he had composed. He has a strong belief that Latin-American composers must produce regional music, instead of imitating Old-World production. His slogan is, "Better something bad which I have developed myself, than something good derived from others." Villa-Lobos is one of the few outstanding composers of the twentieth-century world.

In 1932 he returned to Brazil from world-wide concert tours and has since practically given up composition in order to devote himself to the cause of raising the cultural level of the Brazilian school children.

Carlos Chávez. The most important contemporary Mexican composer, and the one who is most widely known in the United States, is Carlos Chávez. In his work he has completely ignored the European styles and moods. Instead, he has gone back to the Mexico of the past, reconstructing the spirit of Indian ceremonies and rituals without actually incorporating the Indian melodies. He feels that the musicians of Mexico must be thoroughly familiar with their Mexican heritage, for until they are they will not write Mexican music, but will go on believing that it is necessary to continue in the European traditions. He feels that, without a knowledge of Mexican tradition and a belief in Mexico's fu-

ture, they will annihilate all expression of the natural qualities peculiar to the Mexican people and their country. Chávez himself believes that a Mexican music exists which has a character and vigor of its own. His own compositions need no explanation. The sound and rhythm tell a story that all can understand.

Chávez not only has written many great compositions, but he has made long strides in the development of musical education in Mexico. He has reformed the study program at the National Conservatory and is doing much to make the folk music of Mexico come alive in the hearts of its people.

Summary. The love of music, and the mingling of the strains of the past are present in every Latin-American country. The greatest problem confronting the composers of these Southern republics is the necessity for the development of a style which is typically American. There has been too great an emphasis upon copying the methods and styles of the European masters. This emphasis has not aided the growth of the entirely new type of music which, nevertheless, is slowly but surely developing on the American continent.

Today an appreciation of modern classical music is spreading, especially in the large cities. There are symphony orchestras in a number of capitals. Brazilian composers have written more than a hundred operas. The works of the European masters, like Bach, Schubert, and Beethoven are played more and more. Although

only a small number of people have the opportunity to enjoy them, in time they will be appreciated and loved even by those who cannot sit in the expensive seats of the opera houses. For example, one small village to which there was not even a road practiced regularly Schubert's *Serenade* and one of Liszt's Hungarian rhapsodies. In this same village, when the natives, mostly Indians, heard Franck's *D-Minor Symphony*, they gravely asked that it be played over so that they might learn it.

Music is also becoming more important in the schools. Children's choruses are found in many cities. Hundreds of boys and girls often sing together in the choruses organized and conducted by such great composers as Villa-Lobos. Even in the remote rural sections, music has its place in the schools.

The two outstanding characteristics of artists and musicians, as well as the writers of the Americas today, are their emphasis upon American subjects and their depicting of social problems. Modern American artists and writers are unabashed propagandists. They are overwhelmed with their belief in America and in social justice. They want to paint, to write, to play their very best in order to convince the world concerning these two consuming passions. For four centuries Europe dominated the intellectual and spiritual expression of America. But today the pen, the brush, the musical instrument, are dedicated to, and inspired by, the ideals of the New World.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. Leading Trends in Latin-American Music. In the following statements, the word in *italics* is the KEY word. If the statement is true, write the letter T in the blank. If it is *not* true, write in the blank the word which should be substituted for the key word to make the statement true.

- _____ 1. In Montevideo Professor *Lange* is encouraging the study of Latin-American music by editing an annual *Bulletin* which summarizes the new developments.
- _____ 2. In pre-colonial days the Indian music was chiefly *vocal*, with some use of drums, maracas, and flutes.
- _____ 3. In 1525 *Carlos Chávez* established the first school of church music in Latin America.
- _____ 4. The singing of the *Gauchos* provided many folk songs which are still used.
- _____ 5. The Indians have contributed their music, especially for festival dances; the Negroes have *little* music to contribute.
- _____ 6. The *Brazilian* Villa-Lobos is one of the two outstanding composers of Latin America.
- _____ 7. He has used Brazilian *folk music* rather than European music for his inspiration.
- _____ 8. In 1932, he *ceased* to teach music in the public schools.
- _____ 9. Carlos Chávez of *Argentina* is the other leading composer in Latin America today.
- _____ 10. *Indian* music is his principal source of inspiration.
- _____ 11. He has tried to improve the *teaching* of music in his country, especially in the national conservatory.
- _____ 12. Classical music, such as that of Franck, is *increasing* in popularity in Latin America.

B. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. Describe the three native sources of music in Latin America and show how they are used by two contemporary composers.
2. What part is being played in Latin-American music by the schools, the radio, and classical music?

C. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Hague, Eleanor, *Latin-American Music, Past and Present*, Fine Arts Press, 1934.

Williams, Mary W., *People and Politics of Latin America*, pp. 814-5.

FULL-COURSE REVIEW

A. Leaders of South America and Pan-Americanism. Match the following leaders with the statements about them by writing before each statement the letter of the person to whom it refers.

Leaders of South America

- a. Gómez
- b. Balmaceda
- c. Ramírez
- d. Alfaro
- e. Vargas
- f. Sarmiento
- g. Morínigo
- h. Batlle y Ordóñez
- i. Sucre

- j. Haya de la Torre
- k. Pedro II
- l. López
- m. Alessandri
- n. Artigas
- o. López II
- p. Irigoyen
- q. Leguía
- r. Estenssoro

Leaders of Pan-Americanism

- s. Padilla
- t. Hughes
- u. Blaine
- v. Hull
- w. Bolívar
- x. Clay
- y. Monroe
- z. Franklin D. Roosevelt
- aa. Theodore Roosevelt

South America

- () 1. The present president of Brazil
- () 2. The Brazilian ruler who encouraged science and democratic practices
- () 3. The president of Argentina in the 1860's who did so much to encourage education
- () 4. The radical president of Argentina who adopted a policy of neutrality in World War I
- () 5. The leader of the Argentine army revolt of 1943 who set up a Fascist dictatorship
- () 6. The leader who established Uruguay's independence from Argentina
- () 7. The founder of Uruguay's progressive political system
- () 8. The Paraguayan dictator who led his country into a disastrous war against three neighboring countries
- () 9. The liberal president of Chile whose program of building railways, schools, etc., was ended by civil war, which made him commit suicide
- () 10. A second liberal president who wrote the new constitution of 1925, but was ousted by a conservative revolution
- () 11. The Peruvian dictator of the 1920's who borrowed heavily in the United States, partly to beautify the city of Lima
- () 12. The dictator's leading opponent, who founded the *Apra* movement
- () 13. Bolívar's favorite general, who became the first leader of Bolivia
- () 14. The leader of a Bolivian military revolt in 1943, who was not immediately recognized by the United States
- () 15. The Venezuelan dictator who paid off the national debt by means of royalties on oil
- () 16. The liberal Colombian president of the 1930-40's who favored defeat of the Axis and the formation of an American league of nations
- () 17. The Ecuadorean liberal president who built the Guayaquil-Quito railway, but was killed by the conservatives

Pan-Americanism

- () 18. The Venezuelan who made the first proposal for hemisphere co-operation
- () 19. The United States leader who urged recognition of the new American republics
- () 20. The United States president who warned European nations against interfering in the Americas
- () 21. The United States secretary of state who called the First Pan-American Conference, in Washington (1889)
- () 22. The United States president who started the policy of policing the Caribbean region by the use of marines
- () 23. The United States secretary of state who announced in 1924 that the Monroe Doctrine was to be interpreted only by the United States.
- () 24. The United States president who went to Buenos Aires to announce that the Monroe Doctrine should become the policy of all the American republics
- () 25. The United States secretary of state who, at Montevideo, proved that the Good Neighbor Policy meant a real change of policy
- () 26. The Mexican foreign minister at the Rio meeting, who called the attack on Pearl Harbor an attack on "all free men of America"

B. International Economic Relations. In the following statements, the word in *italics* is the KEY word. If the statement is true, write the letter T in the blank. If it is *not* true, write in the blank the word which should be substituted for the key word to make the statement true.

- _____ 1. One reason for the economic importance of Latin America is that its population *equals* that of the United States.
- _____ 2. Its economic importance would be *decreased* if the income level of its people were raised.
- _____ 3. In normal times, about 20 per cent of their foreign trade is with each other.
- _____ 4. If this proportion were to *increase*, it would help solve the problem of their surpluses.
- _____ 5. World War II is causing the American republics to trade *more* with each other.
- _____ 6. In normal times, Latin America trades *less* with Europe than with the United States.
- _____ 7. During the depression of the 1930's, Germany increased her trade with Latin America by means of *barter* agreements.
- _____ 8. The United States countered this drive by means of Import-Export Bank *loans*.
- _____ 9. Also, by the Hull Trade Treaties, trade was increased by the *raising* of tariff rates.
- _____ 10. In normal times, about 20 per cent of United States exports go to Latin America.
- _____ 11. During World War II, the United States is relying on Latin America for such scarce war materials as *tin*, rubber, copper and quinine.

- _____ 12. Except for *Brazil*, most of Latin America exports goods which do not compete with those of the United States.
- _____ 13. Latin America is building up many new industries, especially in such *consumers'* goods as shoes.
- _____ 14. These industries *do not* compete with United States exports.
- _____ 15. It is *possible* for this hemisphere to be self-sufficient and economically independent of the rest of the world.

C. International Cultural Relations. Each of the following statements is followed by a group of completions, some of which are correct. Encircle the letter of each correct completion.

1. "Cultural exchange" means the following things:
 - a. People should understand the important phases of the life of other nations.
 - b. If they do not, they may have no incentive to keep the treaties which their governments may have negotiated.
 - c. Each nation should admire foreign cultures, being *critical* only of its own.
 - d. The exchange of persons, as well as information.
2. Until 1936, the United States carried on cultural exchange with Latin America by private agencies, for instance:
 - a. Many Latin-American exiles, such as Sarmiento, visited the United States on their own resources.
 - b. Fernando Bolívar, nephew of the Liberator, went to the University of Virginia to study.
 - c. Agassiz went to Brazil to study natural science and to lecture.
 - d. Many Latin Americans read such United States authors as Poe and Whitman.
3. Since 1936 the American republics have had an official program of cultural exchange, including the following activities:
 - a. By the Buenos Aires treaty, graduate students and professors are being exchanged by the signatory governments.
 - b. A Division of Cultural Relations has been set up in the Office of Education to administer the program.
 - c. Also, Nelson Rockefeller, Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, began in 1940 to exchange with Latin America radio programs, press services, films, etc.
 - d. The Pan American Union is exchanging information among the American republics under a program started in 1925.
4. The following are some of the handicaps faced by the United States Government in this program:
 - a. Latin-American students generally do not wish to study in the United States.
 - b. Some of our cultural envoys are not well qualified for their work.
 - c. Hollywood movies do not always give a fair picture of United States life.
 - d. The United States Government has not established special institutes for training cultural envoys to Latin America, as Germany has,

D. Latin-American Literature. Match the following authors with their works by writing in each parentheses the letter of the author of that work.

- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| a. López y Fuentes | f. Rivera | k. Mistral |
| b. Olmedo | g. Hernández | l. Rodó |
| c. Sarmiento | h. Güiraldes | m. Blanco Fombona |
| d. Isaacs | i. Darío | n. Batini |
| e. Nervo | j. Alegría | o. da Cunha |

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| () 1. <i>Broad and Alien Is the World</i> | () 8. <i>La Raza de Bronce</i> |
| () 2. <i>Facundo</i> | () 9. <i>Victory of Junín</i> |
| () 3. <i>Ariel</i> | () 10. <i>Desolación</i> |
| () 4. <i>Martín Fierro</i> | () 11. <i>Salutación Al Aguila</i> |
| () 5. <i>El Indio</i> | () 12. <i>The Vortex</i> |
| () 6. <i>Don Segundo Sombra</i> | () 13. <i>María</i> |
| () 7. <i>Man of Iron</i> | () 14. <i>Os Sertões</i> |

E. Art and Music in Latin America. Each of the following statements is accompanied by a group of completions, some of which are correct. Encircle the letter of each correct completion.

1. Some pre-colonial Indians had highly developed arts in the following fields:

- They made picture-books, called *anales*.
- Their pottery was original and skillful, especially that made by the Chimus.
- In sculpture, the Toltecs were especially skilled.
- The metal work was coveted by the Spaniards, especially the gold and silver.

2. In the 19th century, the French influence dominated Latin-American art; for instance:

- In the 1840's the Peruvian, Pancho Fierro, painted only French subjects.
- French teachers filled the art academies of Latin America.
- The best students, such as Bacaflor of Peru, went to Paris to study and painted as if they were Frenchmen.

3. Since World War I the development of native Latin-American art is shown by the following:

- The Mexican muralists began to paint the Revolution on the walls of their public buildings.
- Artists in Bolivia and Peru began to paint their own people, especially the Indians.
- They do not paint a social message, as the Mexicans do, because they have not had a social revolution.
- An exception is Martín of Argentina, who paints Italian scenes in an Italian manner.
- Portinari, the Brazilian painter, uses national scenes, and especially emphasizes the importance of the common man.

EPILOGUE: THE UNITY OF A CONTINENT

We have reached the end of our voyage. Like Columbus of old we have not understood all we have seen. But we have been delighted with the new world that we have discovered.

In the first part of the journey we took a rapid glance at the whole scene of Latin America. What were the outstanding impressions? Here are a people who have lived off the line of travel for centuries. But the world is now beating a path to their door. Every other section of the globe is endeavoring to make friends with these Southern Americans. They have finally awakened to their opportunities for occupying an important place in the world's life. Here one of the world's great problems, racial relations, is being worked out harmoniously. Whites, blacks, Indians, Africans, Europeans, Asiatics, have found out how to mix together for the benefit of all. Geographical riches are everywhere in evidence: the Caribbean Sea, washing the shores of a dozen delightful republics and hundreds of tropical islands famous in story and song; the snow-capped Andes Mountains, in which are some of the most lofty cities and the most astounding methods of transportation on the globe; the great pampas of Argentina and neighboring lands, where

a hungry world can find much of its needed bread and meat; the vast valley of the Amazon, mysterious and challenging, with its rubber and other tropical products necessary for the happiness of the industrial North. Today, new means of transportation, increasing immigration, and a developing educational program prophesy an important future for this section of the world. Each of these developments offers challenging topics for the student and a possible job for those who desire to help promote the development of this new American frontier.

In the second section of our journey we examined the past of our American neighbors. We found their experiences were similar to our own. They too were ruled for centuries by their mother European government. They too threw off the yoke of oppression and established independent republics. They too have gone through a long struggle to establish democracy at home and to resist conquest from abroad. Comparable to Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Franklin are Bolívar, Juárez, and Sarmiento. With less education in self-government they have paralleled our struggles to maintain federal unity in a diversity of states, to at-

tain an honest ballot, to educate the masses, and to eliminate the distinctions of classes.

In spite of a general similarity of experience, we found that each Latin-American nation has had its own peculiar history and its own great leaders. In learning to know these leaders, we developed a new appreciation of the life of each of the republics.

Relations between our own country and the Latin-American republics were the next subject of our study. We discovered that the business of being a Good Neighbor has been difficult. In the first hundred years of the life of the continent the United States was largely interested in its own affairs. It failed to meet the friendly advances of the Southern republics. The interesting question was often raised by Latin Americans as to how far the Monroe Doctrine was a protection and how far it was a threat. The Good Neighbor Policy of recent years proved an aid in securing the

backing of the Southern nations in the war against Axis tyranny. We found that economic co-operation and the exchange of students, artists, books, and other intellectual agencies between the Americas had recently improved. But the Good Neighbors of the Americas still have many problems to solve before they become understanding and mutually admiring neighbors.

After considering the facts about the Latin Americans and our relations with them, we then turned to a consideration of their ideals. What kind of writers do they have? What kind of pictures do they paint? What do their musicians, their buildings, their intellectual life tell us about the culture of the other Americans? The study of these more spiritual aspects gave us a new appreciation of our neighbors and leaves us with the question of how we may further develop mutual understanding between the Americas.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY

OUTSTANDING EVENTS IN LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

- 1492 Columbus discovers America
- 1493 Line of demarcation of Pope Alexander VI
- 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, the result of which gave Portugal title to Brazil
- 1496 Founding of Santo Domingo
- 1500 Brazil discovered by Cabral of Portugal
- 1502 Negro slavery introduced into the New World
- 1513 Pacific discovered by Balboa; Florida by Ponce de León
- 1516 Discovery of Río de la Plata by Díaz de Solís
- 1519-21 Mexico conquered by Cortés
- 1524 Council of the Indies organized
- 1531-33 Francisco Pizarro conquers Peru
- 1532 Founding of São Vicente, first colony in Brazil
- 1537 Founding of Asunción
- 1541 Founding of Santiago de Chile
- 1549 Founding of São Salvador, later known as Bahia
- 1551 Founding of universities of San Marcos (Lima) and Mexico
- 1570 Inquisition introduced into Spanish America
- 1571 Execution of Tupac Amaru, "the last of the Incas"
- 1580 Founding of Buenos Aires
- 1588 Spanish Armada defeated
- 1595 Sir Walter Raleigh sails up the Orinoco River
- 1610 First arrival of Jesuits in Asunción
- 1621 Dutch West Indies Company chartered
- 1623 Founding of St. Kitts, first English colony in the West Indies
- 1654 Dutch driven from Pernambuco
- 1673 Present city of Panama founded
- 1697 France acquires western Haiti
- 1763 Rio de Janeiro becomes capital of Brazil
- 1767 Society of Jesuits suppressed in Spanish colonies
- 1777 Treaty of San Ildefonso signed by Spain and Portugal
- 1804 Haiti achieves independence
- 1806 Buenos Aires captured and lost by the British
- 1806 Francisco Miranda leads a patriot expedition from New York to Venezuela
- 1807 Government of Portugal removes to Brazil
- 1807 Montevideo captured and evacuated by the British
- 1808 Ferdinand VII, king of Spain, abdicates
- 1810 Independence movement begins in Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina

- 1811 Paraguay, Venezuela, and Ecuador proclaim independence
- 1813 Colombia and Mexico proclaim independence
- 1814 Ferdinand VII restored in Spain
- 1814-40 Dr. Francia is dictator of Paraguay
- 1816 Argentina proclaims independence
- 1817 San Martín defeats Spaniards at Chacabuco, Chile
- 1817 Portuguese capture Montevideo, which temporarily becomes Brazilian territory
- 1818 Chile proclaims independence
- 1819 Bolívar crosses Andes and conquers New Granada
- 1821 Peru, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador declare independence
- 1822 Brazil secures independence with Pedro as emperor
- 1822 San Martín withdraws from Peru and South America
- 1822 The United States recognizes the independence of various Hispanic-American states
- 1823 Monroe Doctrine promulgated
- 1825 Bolivia proclaims independence
- 1826 South America completely freed from Spain. Panama Congress held
- 1826 Bernardino Rivadavia, president of Argentina, negotiates a British loan
- 1828 Independence of Uruguay from Brazil and Argentina
- 1830 Death of Bolívar
- 1833 New Constitution of the Chilean state
- 1837-39 War between Chile and the Peru-Bolivian confederation
- 1838 Buenos Aires blockaded by French fleet
- 1844 Dominican Republic established
- 1844 Allan Gardner begins missionary work among South American Indians
- 1846-48 War between the United States and Mexico
- 1855 Railroad between Colón and Panama City opened
- 1856 William Walker becomes president of Nicaragua
- 1857 Construction of first railway in Argentina
- 1859-1862, 1867-72 Benito Juárez is president of Mexico
- 1861-65 Santo Domingo under Spanish flag
- 1862-67 French intervention in Mexico
- 1862 Bartolomé Mitre becomes president of a united Argentina
- 1865-70 The Paraguayan War
- 1865-66 Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia sign an offensive, defensive alliance
- 1866 Spanish bombard Valparaiso
- 1873 Veracruz railroad opened
- 1873 Protestant missions established in Mexico
- 1874 First South American cable laid between Pernambuco and Lisbon
- 1877-80, 1884-1911 Porfirio Díaz is president of Mexico
- 1879-83 War of the Pacific
- 1889 Brazil becomes a republic
- 1890 Organization of the International Bureau of American Republics, later changed to the Pan American Union
- 1891 Civil war between the Balmacedists and the Congressional party in Chile

- 1895 Venezuelan boundary dispute involving Monroe Doctrine
- 1898 Spanish-American War
- 1898 Cuba independent
- 1898 Puerto Rico acquired by the United States
- 1899 Guayaquil-Quito railway begun
- 1900 Publication of Rodó's *Ariel*, an appeal to youth
- 1902 International disturbance over Venezuelan debts
- 1903 Independence of Panama
- 1904 Peace between Argentina and Chile signalized by the erection of the Christ of the Andes statue
- 1905 United States assumes collection of customs in the Dominican Republic
- 1907 Latin-American nations' first participation in world peace conference at the Hague
- 1910 Beginning of social revolution in Mexico
- 1914 Panama Canal opened
- 1914 United States troops occupy Veracruz
- 1915-16 Intervention of the United States in Haiti and the Dominican Republic
- 1916 United States acquires canal rights in Nicaragua
- 1917 United States purchases Virgin Islands from Denmark
- 1917-18 Brazil, Cuba, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama declare war against Germany
- 1917 New Constitution in Mexico
- 1919 Death of Amado Nervo, Mexican poet, bringing demonstration of Latin-American solidarity
- 1919 Eleven Latin-American states represented at the Versailles Peace Conference
- 1919 League of Nations joined by Colombia, Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Peru, Paraguay, Chile, Panama, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Haiti, Uruguay
- 1920 President Brum of Uruguay proposes an American league of nations
- 1921 Colombia recognizes Panama as an independent state
- 1922-23 Brazilian Centenary Exposition at Rio de Janeiro
- 1926 Brazil gives notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations
- 1929 Treaty between Chile and Peru settles the Tacna-Arica question
- 1929 Chaco dispute precipitates armed clashes between Paraguay and Bolivia
- 1930 Revolutions due to economic and social causes in Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic
- 1931 Revolutions in Chile, Panama, Honduras, and El Salvador
- 1931 Mexico enters the League of Nations
- 1932 Signing of Argentine Anti-War Pact by South American nations during the visit of the president of Argentina to Brazil
- 1933 Geneva undertakes first settlement of American disputes—Leticia and Chaco boundary disputes
- 1934 United States withdraws marines from the last Latin-American country; abrogates Platt Amendment; signs Non-Intervention Treaty
- 1935 Uruguay, following the rest of Latin America, breaks relations with Russia; strengthening of Fascist tendencies in numerous Latin-American countries

- 1936 President Roosevelt calls Pan-American peace conference at Buenos Aires
- 1936 Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras resign from League of Nations
- 1936 Revival of plans for an American league of nations
- 1938 Consultation meetings of American Ministers of Foreign Affairs approved
- 1938 Peace treaty signed in the Chaco War
- 1939 American neutrality in relation to European War declared
- 1940 Inauguration of Inter-American Cultural Exchange program
- 1941 Japanese attack Pearl Harbor; United States, six Central American, and three West Indies republics declare war on Axis
- 1942 Mexico and Brazil declare war on Axis. Lend-lease activities extended to Latin-American republics
- 1942 American republics unanimously approve the Atlantic Charter
- 1943 Inter-American ties increased by interchange of visits by President Roosevelt to President Vargas of Brazil and to President Ávila Camacho of Mexico; interchange of visits of presidents and other distinguished citizens

SOME INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES

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- 1847 American Congress, Lima
- 1856 Third American Congress, Santiago, Chile
- 1864 Fourth American Congress, Lima
- 1877 American Congress of Jurists, Lima
- 1887 Sanitary Congress of Brazil and the States of La Plata, Rio de Janeiro
- 1888 International South American Law Congress, Montevideo
- 1888 Central American Congress, San José
- 1889-90 First International Conference of American States, Washington
- 1898 First Latin-American Scientific Congress, Montevideo
- 1901 Second International Conference of American States, Mexico City
- 1902 First Sanitary Convention of the American Republics, Washington
- 1906 Third Conference of American States, Rio de Janeiro
- 1909 First Pan-American Scientific Congress, Santiago, Chile
- 1910 Fourth International Conference of American States, Buenos Aires
- 1911 First Pan-American Commercial Conference, Washington
- 1912 International Commission of Jurists, Rio de Janeiro
- 1915 First Pan-American Financial Conference, Washington
- 1916 Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington
- 1916 First Pan-American Child Welfare Conference, Buenos Aires
- 1921 First Pan-American Postal Congress, Buenos Aires
- 1923 Fifth International Conference of American States, Santiago, Chile
- 1923 First Pan-American Red Cross Conference, Buenos Aires
- 1925 First Pan-American Conference on Uniformity of Specifications, Lima
- 1925 First Pan-American Congress of Highways, Buenos Aires
- 1926 First Pan-American Congress of Journalists, Washington
- 1927 International Commission of American Jurists, Rio de Janeiro
- 1927 First Pan-American Conference on Eugenics and Homoculture, Habana
- 1928 Sixth International Conference of American States, Habana

- 1928-29 International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, Washington
- 1929 Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, Mexico City
- 1929 Inter-American Highway Congress, Panama City
- 1930 Inter-American Congress of Rectors, Deans, and Educators, Habana
- 1930 Inter-American Commission of Women, Habana
- 1933 First Congress of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, Rio de Janeiro
- 1933 Seventh International Conference of American States, Montevideo
- 1936 Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires
- 1938 Eighth International Congress of American States, Lima
- 1939 First Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American Republics, Panama
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- 1942 Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American Republics, Rio de Janeiro

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Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art, Museum of Modern Art, 1940.

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NOTE: The pronunciation symbols for Spanish, Portuguese, and French words indicated below are based on the diacritical marks found in Webster's *New International Dictionary*. The Castilian pronunciation is given for places in Spain and for the names of Spaniards. Otherwise, the pronunciation indicated for Spanish names follows Spanish-American usage. For example, *c* (also *z*) before *e* or *i* is pronounced like English *s*; *ll* usually like English *y*; and *x* sometimes like English *h*. The pronunciation of Brazilian names given below is based on the Portuguese spoken in Rio de Janeiro and Portugal. In addition, it should be noted that for some Latin-American names there are English pronunciations which are equally acceptable and in some cases even preferable.

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B-1,a(3) b(3) c(3) d(3); 2,a(3) b(4) c(4); 3,a(6) b(6) d(6) e(6); 4,a(8) b(8) c(8) e(8); 5,a(8-10) b(9) c(8) d(17) e(10).

C-1,OD(11); 2,OD(11); 3,T(11); 4, T(11-12); 5,T(12); 6,T(13); 7,ON; 8,T(13); 9,T(13); 10,OD(13); 11,T(13); 12,T(15); 13,T(11); 14,T(11); 15,F(12); 16,F(12-13); 17,OD(12); 18,T(12); 19,T(12-13); 20,ON.

Ch. 2: A-1,d(24); 2,f(24); 3,a(26); 4,m(26); 5,e(26); 6,j(27); 7,b(27); 8,i(27); 9,c(28); 10,k(28); 11,l(29); 12,h(29); 13,g(29).

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Ch. 3: A-1,g(38-9); 2,d(40); 3,i(41); 4,a(43); 5,k(43); 6,c(45); 7,j(46); 8,f(46); 9,h(48); 10,b(48).

B-1,OD(40); 2,T(41); 3,T(40); 4,T(40); 5,F(40-1); 6,OD(41); 7,T(41); 8,OD(41); 9,T(41); 10,ON; 11,OD(42); 12,T(42) 13,F(43); 14,ON; 15,T(44); 16,F(44).

C-1,T(45); 2,T(38); 3,Jesuit(45); 4,Francia(45-6); 5,T(45); 6,T(46-7); 7,fifty(47); 8,T(47); 9,T(47-8); 10,less(48); 11,United States(49); 12,T(49).

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B-1,a(87-8) c(88) d(88) e(88); 2,a(96) b(96) c(96); 3,a(93) b(97-8) d(98) c(98); 4,b(101) c(101) d(101); 5,a(102) c(103) d(104); 6,a(101) b(102-3) c(102).

C-1,defeated(105); 2,T(105); 3,T(107); 4,T(107); 5,T(108); 6,T(108); 7,Habana(109); 8,T(110); 9,T(110); 10,Chile(112); 11,T(112); 12,T(112); 13,speeded(112); 14,T(112); 15,Ecuador(112); 16,T(115); 17,power(115).

Half-Course Review: A-1,T(5); 2,democratic(5-8); 3,Aranha(12); 4,T(3); 5,T(3); 6,T(8); 7,was not(8); 8,T(10); 9,revolution(11); 10,São Paulo(11); 11,T(12); 12,has(13); 13,T(13); 14,is(15).

B-1,OD(24); 2,T(24); 3,T(26); 4,ON; 5,F(29); 6,T(32); 7,ON; 8,T(34); 9,OD(35); 10,T(32); 11,F(34); 12,T(28-9); 13,ON.

C-1,a(40) b(40-1) d(41) e(42); 2,b(44) c(44) d(41); 3,a(45-6) b(46-7) c(47) e(48).

D-1,T(53-4); 2,won(55); 3,T(56); 4,T(56); 5,dictatorial(57); 6,T(57); 7,loss(60); 8,T(61); 9,lost(61); 10,given(61-2); 11,defeated(62); 12,T(63); 13,unsuccessful(65); 14,T(65); 15,T(65); 16,T(66); 17,favors(66); 18,del Prado(66); 19,half(67); 20,T(66).

E-1,b(74) c(73) d(72-3) e(73); 2,a(79) b(79) c(78) d(79); 3,a(81-2) b(82) c(82).

F-2,h(89); 3,g(93); 6,b(98); 8,f(102); 9,d(104); 11,a(108); 12,c(109).

Ch. 7: A-1,a, b, c, e, f, g(all on p. 126); 2,a(127) b(127) d(127); 3,a(128) c(128) d(128) e(128); 4,a(129) b(129) c(129) e(129); 5,a(129) c(129) d(129) e(127); 6,a(130) c(130) d(130) e(131); 7,a(131) c(132) d(131); 8,b, c, d, e(all on p. 132).

B-1,T(133); 2,T(133); 3,T(133); 4,would not(134); 5,will not(133); 6,T(135); 7,raise(136).

C-Imports: 1,Brazil; 2,Argentina; 3,Mexico; 4,Chile; 5,Cuba; Exports: 1,Argentina; 2,Brazil; 3,Venezuela; 4,Mexico; 5,Chile.

Ch. 8: A-1,f(142); 2,d(142); 3,k(142); 4,i(142); 5,g(142); 6,b(142); 7,h(142); 8,e(148); 9,j(145); 10,c(146).

B-1,a(143) b(141) d(148) e(148); 2,b(143) c(143-4) d(144) e(145); 3,a(144) c(144) d(144-5) e(144); 4,a(147) b(146-7) c(145) d(146) e(147); 5,b(148) c(148) d(151) e(149).

Ch. 9: A-1,g(154); 2,p(155-6); 3,b(156-8); 4,l(159); 5,e(161); 6,s(162); 7,m(162); 8,i(164-5); 9,a(166-7); 10,u(167-8); 11,v(168-9); 12,j(178); 13,o(170); 14,d(170); 15,q(171); 16,h(171-2); 17,k(172-3); 18,c(173-4); 19,r(174); 20,t(175); 21,n(175); 22,f(175-6); 23,w(176); 24,x(175).

B-1,a(155) b(155-6) c(156); 2,a(156) c(157) d(158) e(157) f(157); 3,a(161) b(161) c(161); 4,b(162) c(172); 5,a(165,167,168) b(165,167,169); 6,b(168) c(168) d(168); 7,a(165) b(165) c(165-6); 8,a(169) c(169) d(169).

C-1,a(170) b(171) c(169-70) e(176); 2,b(156) c(165) d(166) e(169); 3,a(177) b(178); 4,a(178) b(178) c(178) d(178) e(176).

Ch. 10: A-1,e(191); 2,d(191); 3,k(191); 4,a(191); 5,g(191); 6,n(193); 7,i(193); 8,b(193); 9,f(193); 10,j(194); 11,h(194); 12,c(195); 13,l(195).

B-1,T(186); 2,T(187); 3,religious(190); 4,France(190); 5,T(193); 6,latter(193); 7,Brazilian(194); 8,Buenos Aires(195); 9,T(195); 10,T(196).

h. 11: A-1,T(198); 2,T(198); 3,Pedro de Gante(198); 4,T(199); 5,much(199); 6,T(200); 7,T(200); 8,began(200); 9,Mexico(200); 10,T(201); 11,T(201); 12,T(201).

Full-Course Review: A-1,c(12); 2,k(6); 3,f(26); 4,p(28); 5,c(29); 6,n(39); 7,h(40); 8,o(46); 9,b(55-6); 10,m(56-7); 11,q(65); 12,j(65); 13,i(60); 14,r(63); 15,a(82); 16,l(73); 17,d(78); 18,w(89); 19,x(92); 20,y(89); 21,u(96); 22,aa(97); 23,t(100); 24,z(89); 25,v(102); 26,s(110).

B-1,T(130); 2,increase(126); 3,seven(126); 4,T(131); 5,T(126); 6,more(127); 7,T(128); 8,T(128); 9,lowering(129); 10,forty(130); 11,T(129); 12,Argentina(130-1); 13,T(131); 14,do(133); 15,impossible(134).

C-1,a(134) b(134) d(143); 2,a(142) b(142) c(142) d(142); 3,a(143) c(146-7) d(147); 4,b(148) c(149) d(148).

D-1,j(171); 2,c(158); 3,l(168); 4,g(162); 5,a(171); 6,h(172); 7,m(162); 8,e(166); 9,b(154); 10,k(169); 11,i(165); 12,f(173); 13,d(170); 4,o(175).

E-1,a(186) b(186) c(187) d(187-8); 2,b(190) c(191); 3,a(191) b(193) c(193) e(194).



